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Gaekwad's Archæological Series

MEMOIR No. III

The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati

IN
BARODA STATE

By

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PREFACE

Dabhoi is an old town and contains archæological monuments which may well be termed architectural gems of Baroda. These monuments attract visitors not only from the territories of Baroda or from the whole of India, but from the far East and the West as well. Visitors to Baroda seldom go back without seeing these magnificent structures of medieval Gujarāt. It is thus readily seen that a book giving their accurate descriptive and historical account was needed to help the visitors in understanding them. Under the liberal patronage of the late Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III, the late Dr. J. Burgess and Mr. M. Cousens of the Archæological Survey of India conjointly wrote a book entitled "*The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat*," which supplied this want. It was published with copious illustrations as long ago as 1888. But it is an unwieldy volume and has become rare, if not inaccessible. At the same time considerable material bearing on the history of these monuments, which became available to the present writer, was left out by the said authors. A new book was consequently needed and the present work is an attempt to remove the desideratum. It may be called a revise of the former work, for it repeats a considerable portion of what has been stated by the above-mentioned writers, though with some changes. New material has also been added in large quantities. Some of these additions are very noteworthy in that they establish the date of the monuments with certainty. The identification of the names of the architects which settles their age is a happy discovery to which the present writer was led while studying the sculptures on the exterior of the Kālikā-mātā temple at the Hīrā Gate. All the same, he is highly indebted to the above named antiquarians and to the late Professor Dr. Bühler for the excellent account of the *prāsasti* of Somesvara which he published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The revise was undertaken with the kind approval of Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan of Baroda, who is ever ready to encourage the study of the history of Gujarāt in all its spheres.

Mr. J. F. Blakiston, C. I. E., lately the Director General of Archæology in India, was consulted before the work was taken on hand. With his usual cordiality he accorded his official approval allowing me to make use of the material from the above mentioned volume. Though that book was written under the patronage of the late Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III, yet it was a publication of the Government of India in the Archæological Department, and his permission in the matter was necessary and I am thankful to him for giving it.

In the completion of this work my grateful thanks are due to Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., the Director of Archæology, Hyderabad (Deccan), Mr. S. H. Hodivala, M. A., the retired Principal of the Bahauddin College, Junagadh, and Kazi Mahmudmiya Ahmedmiya, M. A., the Professor of Persian in

the Baroda College, for the help they have kindly given me in dealing with the Persian inscription at Dabhoi. My thanks are also due to my devoted assistant Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A., and to Mr. V. H. Bhanot, M. A., (Panjab), B. A. Hons. (Cantab), of the Education Department, Baroda, for the assistance they have rendered in the difficult task of checking the proofs and in making valuable suggestions. To Mr. B. T. Kale, B. A., the Manager of the State Press, Baroda, and to his staff I am indebted for the care as well as promptness they have evinced in printing this Memoir.

With these few words, I place this work in the hands of scholars as well as the general public, and hope that it will serve the purpose for which it is prepared.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

Baroda, Friday, the 6th December 1940.

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The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati

Dabhoi¹ is the chief town of the *tālukā* of that name and is a junction station of the Baroda State Railways. It is situated in lat. 20° 8' N., long. 73° 28' E. and is about 18 miles to the south-east of the capital town of the State of Baroda. Chāndod, a celebrated *tīrtha* or place of pilgrimage of the Hindus, lying on the eastern bank of the Narmadā, one of the seven principal sacred rivers² of India, is about ten miles to the south of it. As Dabhoi stood on the main route to this *tīrtha* and was a fortified frontier city of the Central Gujarāt, it was a well-known locality during the early medieval period. Even today it is an important town of Baroda. Dayārāma, the popular Gujarāti poet, was born at Dabhoi. He is famous for his *garabis* or devotional songs for which he is called *Bhakta-kavi*. The late Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad (III) was pleased to pay a visit to the house where he was born and name the main road going from the Railway station to the town after the poet as a mark of respect.

The Dabhoi *tālukā* is bounded on the east by the river Orsang, Sankheda Mehvas, Tilakwada and Sankheda, on the west by Karjan Boundaries etc. and Baroda, on the north by Baroda, Vaghodia and the Panchmahals and on the south by Sinor and Sankheda Mehvas. The *tālukā* of Dabhoi comprises an area of 216 Sq. miles. The maximum length from north to south is 20 miles and the width from east to west is 16 miles. It contains 96 villages, the total population being 70,531, Hindus forming the majority. The town of Dabhoi is densely populated and its population is about 18,156. It has a Vahivatdar's, a Munsiff's and a Naib-Suba's Court and other offices, a municipality, a civil hospital and a high school. The magnificent monuments which once adorned it have suffered considerably during the march of years and hostile attacks. What remains of them testifies to its past grandeur.

1. The late Dr. Führer in his work entitled "*Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*" identified Darbhāvati with Dibai, an ancient town in the Bulandshahr district of the United Provinces. Obviously this must be a different town for, as stated in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* under Dabhoi, that town was founded by Sayyid Salār Masa-ūd-Ghāzi in 1029 A. D. Further, Führer identified Dibai with the Radolph of the Greeks.

2. These are enumerated in the following verse which an orthodox Hindu will repeat at the time of his bath requesting them to come and stay in the water of his ablutions :—

गंगे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति ।
कावेरि नर्मदे सिन्धो जलेस्मिन् संनिधि कुरु ॥

The name Dabhoi is a derivative (*tadbhava*) of the Sanskrit term Darbhavati by which the locality was originally designated. The

Designation of astronomical treatise called *Romakasiddhānta* mentions Dabhoi. it under that name. This would indicate that the town was

in existence about the 6th century of the Christian era, for the *Romakasiddhānta* was current at that time. Darbhavati is a variant of this name. Both these forms, Darbhavati and Darbhāvati, occur in Jaina works. Another name by which the town was known in ancient times is Darbhikāgrāma. It occurs in the *Vikramacharita* which was composed by Rāmachandra-sūri in the Vikrama year 1490 (=1433 A. D.). Darbhavatipura is another name of this town which is also met with in Jaina works. All these designations connect the locality with the *darbha* (or *kuśa*)¹ grass, so sacred and indispensable for the sacrificial performances of the Hindus. It would appear therefore that this locality was so designated on account of the abundance of this sacred grass in it. At present, however, it is hardly to be seen here and the appellation has become unjustifiable.

Tradition connects the name of Dabhoi and the construction of the splendid structures in it with the birth of Visaladeva.

Tradition regarding the designation. According to it King Viradhwala had seven wives of whom

Ratnāli was his favourite although she had no issue. She

was more beautiful and accomplished than all her rivals. To prevent the birth of a child to her the other wives of Viradhwala used all the charms they could. But when good luck favoured her and she was in the family way she left for the holy *tīrtha* on the Narmadā, namely, Chāndod, out of fear of her rivals who were prepared to have recourse to any charms or magic to kill the child or prevent its birth. After a tiring journey she halted at a sacred grove and lake near Dabhoi to spend the night in the tents prepared for her rest. A recluse, who was living there at the time, blessed the queen that she would be delivered of a son and asked her to stay there till his birth. The queen obeyed the holy man's injunction and after a few days a son was born to her. The child, so goes the tradition, remained in the womb for twenty months. Hence the name of Visaladeva (*vis, bis* = 20) was given to him. Whether this was only a palace trick, i. e. camouflage, or a fact it is useless to discuss. Viradhwala was very pleased at the news of the birth of a son to his best loved queen and at once declared Visaladeva his heir. The queen was very pleased with the spot where she got the blessings of the saint and gave birth to Visaladeva. At her request Viradhwala built a fortified town there and got the old lake extended to it. The architect under whose instructions the citadel was built was called Dabhane, so says the tale, and the fortified town was named after him. Out of a jealous fear that he might construct similar buildings for others also, Viradhwala had the unfortunate architect immured in a subterranean cell under the Kālikā-mātā temple where he remained for six years during which time his wife used to supply him with the necessities of life through an aperture which is still pointed out to visitors. The architect, the story goes

1. The name *Kus'asthalī* or *Kus'asthala* applied to Dvārakā and Kanyākubja (Kanauj) are similar instances.

further, was liberated after this period as the king again wanted his services ! Such stories are told in very many cases. The episode of Nanda and Śakatāra is one of them. But they are all folk-tales of little historical value.

The earliest mention of Dabhoi (i. e. Darbhavati) is in the *Romakasiddhānta*, as stated above. This book mentions Darbhavati along with Bhṛigukachchha which is certainly the Broach of to-day. Therefore, Dabhoi must be the modern representative of the old Darbhavati.

References in literature.

The next reference to this town is in the commentary on the *Chaturvimsatikā* which was written in Dabhoi in the Vikrama year 1211 (1154 A. D.). The concluding stanza of this work compares the town to heaven on account of the plentiful use of saffron there.

Darbhavati is also mentioned in the Jaina work called *Kavyasikshā* by Āchārya Vinayachandra.

The next reference is in the colophon of the *Yogaśāstra-vṛitti* of Hemachandra-sūri, the well-known Jaina author of the twelfth century after Christ. The colophon is very interesting and is quoted here in *extenso*.¹

स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमनृपते: संवत् १२५१ वर्षे कार्तिकशुद्धि १२ शुक्रे रेवतीनक्षत्रे सिद्धयोगे महाराजश्रीभीमदेवविजयराज्ये अवनिवानेतप्रशस्तकस्तूरिकातिलकायमानलाटदेशालंकारिणि सकल-जनमनोहारिणि विविधधार्मिकविराजमानदर्भवतीस्थाने श्रीमालवशीयश्रेणो समानंदनेन जगदानंदनेन निर्मलतमसम्यक्त्वधरेण श्रेणो देवधरेण सकलधर्मकर्मवहितेन उ० आमडनरसिंहादिसुतस्तिहितेन निजपुत्रजगदेवश्रेयोनिमित्तं श्रीवटपटकपुरप्रसिद्धप्रबुद्धपं०केशवसुत पं० वोसरिहस्तेनाशेषविशेष-ज्ञानवतश्चमस्कारीदमप्रतिमप्रतापश्रीजिनशासनप्रभावकथ्रीकुमारपालभूपालविद्यायितस्य श्रीहेमचन्द्रसूर-रचितस्य श्रीयोगशास्त्रस्य वृत्तिपुस्तकं लिखितमिति ॥

The quotation shows that the work was written at Dabhoi in the Vikrama year 1251 during the prosperous rule of Bhīmadeva II by Pt. Vosari of Baroda (Vaṭapadraka). This Bhīmadeva must be identified with the homonymous young successor of Mūlarāja, who died in his boyhood after reigning for two years only. Both Bhīmadeva and Mūlarāja were born of queen Nāikidevi who, as stated in Merutunga's *Prabandhachintāmanī*, fought the hostile Musalmān army quite successfully taking her infant son Mūlarāja in her lap. In the day of the battle the Muhammadans were defeated and compelled to retreat.² Bhīmadeva was a child when he ascended the throne, as is shown by the *Kirtikaumudi*. Probably he was anointed as king in Saṁvat 1234 (= 1177 A. D.). This colophon would indicate that Bhīmadeva was reigning in the Vikrama year 1251, for it was written महाराजश्रीभीमदेवविजयराज्ये "during the prosperous reign of Mahārāja, the illustrious Bhīmadeva". That he was a minor in 1178 is

1. "A third Report of operations in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay circle" by P. Peterson. pp. 74-77.

2. The *Prabaudhachintāmanī* and the *Tawārikh-i-Sorāth* give an account of Nāikidevi's fighting the hosts of Shihābuddin Ghorī triumphantly. The victory won by this heroic queen must have been complete, for Gujarāt remained un molested by the Musalmāns for 100 years after this battle. That the Musalmāns were routed in this combat and that there was no further attack on Gujarāt for a long time is admitted by Musalmān writers.

shown by the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsari* which says that in the Hijri year 574 (=1178 A. D.) Bhīmadeva, the Rai of Nahrwāla (Anahilavādā), was a minor, had a large army and many elephants. The Muhammadan writers have evidently confused the events which took place in the reigns of these two minor rulers, namely, Mūlarāja and Bhīmadeva.¹

Merutunga says that Bhīmadeva ruled from 1234 to 1294 of the Vikrama era, i. e., for sixty years. Thus the above mentioned book was written in the seventeenth year of his reign when he had already become a major.

The *Vastupālacharita* is an interesting work written by Jinaharshagāṇī in the Vikrama year 1365 (=1308 A. D.). In supplying an amusing account of the fight between Ghūghula, the chief of Godhrā, and Tejāhpāla, the powerful general of Viradhavala, it gives a brief description of Darbhāvati or Dabhoi which might be noticed here with advantage. The book, like other works of this kind, is written in the *kāvya* style and is not free from hyperboles or poetic embellishments. In spite of the exaggerations which it contains the historical background of it cannot be denied. In view of this consideration I am quoting below the connected portion and giving the translation to facilitate reference. This book would show that king Viradhavala was looked down upon by Ghūghula as an effeminate person and was insulted by him with the presents of ladies' apparel², a *sāri*, collierum, etc., which in the opinion of Ghūghula suited him most. Tejāhpāla, the talented brave general of Viradhavala, defeated the insolent robber chief of Godhrā and fully avenged his master by bringing him to Dabhoi as prisoner. The residents of Dabhoi were in constant fear of the predatory tribes who were in the habit of making raids upon them. With a view to protect the inhabitants of Dabhoi, Vastupāla the resourceful minister of Viradhavala and the brother of Tejāhpāla, turned the town into a citadel by constructing a strong wall round it and providing it with a fortified gate on each of its four sides. He also set up the images of his ancestors, erected one hundred and seventy shrines and placed therein the statues of his mother Kumāradevī, riding an elephant with a *mālā* of silver flowers in her hand. He repaired the temple of Vaidyanātha and in front of it erected a Jaina temple before which he placed the statues of the king and the queen, of his brother Vastupāla and of himself. What has become of all these statues is not known. No trace of them is left now. The two inscriptions or *prāśastis* mentioned in the *Vastupālacharita* are not to be found. To say that the *prāśasti* of Someśvara, which is noticed in detail below, was meant would imply that Jinaharshagāṇī could not comprehend its contents although it was only about fifty years old ! Nothing is known of the *kirti-stambha* or the *torana* or of the *Svayambhava* well or spring mentioned in the work, either. The account as given in the book is termed दर्भावतीप्रशस्ति, i. e., the praise of Darbhāvati and runs as follows:—

अथ दर्भावतीं प्रापद् विदर्भामिव क्रद्धिभिः।
मण्डितो मण्डलाधीशैरभवराजात्मजः पुरीम् ॥ ६२ ॥

1. J. M. Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, pt. 1, pp. 195-6.

2. *Vastupālacharitam*, Jamnagar edition, vv. 39-49. pp. 104 ff.

पह्लीपातेनृपातंकशंकाशंकुव्यथाकुलान् ।
 तन्निवासिजनान् वीक्ष्य विस्मृतान्यप्रयोजनान् ॥ ६३ ॥
 मूलराजादिभूपालमूर्तिभिः स्फुरितोदयम् ।
 नगर्याः परितो वप्रमध्र्मलिहमसौ सुध्रीः ॥ ६४ ॥
 विधाय विविधा भंगीर्विभ्राणं शरणं सताम् ।
 विश्रामायेव देवानां निरालंबाव्यायिनाम् ॥ ६५ ॥
 तिरश्चक्रोखलां भीर्ति भानुवद् ध्वांतसंततिम् ।
 तावशानां यतो जन्म सुखायैव तनुस्पृशाम् ॥ ६६ ॥
 चतुर्भिः कलापकम् ॥

तत्राथ चैत्य रचयांचकार प्रेष्वद्वजश्रेणिविराजितश्च ।
 कैलासशैलेशसमं सुवर्णकुंभांकितं पार्वतिनेश्वरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥
 सतोरणं पूर्वजमूर्तियुक्तं जगत्रयीनेत्रसुधांजनाभम् ।
 खसस्तचन्द्र (१७०) प्रभिर्तैर्जिनेद्रगृहैः परितं परितः स मंत्री ॥ ६८ ॥ युग्मम् ॥
 बलानके यत्र गजाधिरूढा कुमारदेवी सचिवेशमाता ।
 विराजते राजतपुष्पमालापाणिर्युगादीशविभोर्नु माता ॥ ६९ ॥
 चौलुक्यभूमुजस्तत्र हृद्यानन्दचिकीषया ।
 सोन्यान्यपि प्रशस्तानि कीर्तिस्थानानि निर्ममे ॥ ७० ॥

यथा:-

दर्भावतीपुरे वैद्यनाथावसथमंडपे ।
 तेजःपालो न्यधात् स्वर्णकुंभानामेकविंशतिम् ॥ ७१ ॥
 स्वेशतत्रियतामस्वकनिष्ठज्येष्ठमूर्तिनिजमूर्तिसनाथम् ।
 वैद्यनाथहरगर्भगृहान्ने जैनचैत्यमकरोत्सुक्तीशः ॥ ७२ ॥
 नवस्वर्णमयांस्तत्र पवित्रान कलशानयम् ।
 नवखंडधरोद्योतेऽकरोत् प्रद्योतनानिव ॥ ७३ ॥
 पश्चिमोत्तर्योस्तत्र शालस्य द्वारयोरयम् ।
 प्रशस्ती न्यस्तवानात्मकीर्तिमंगलपाठिके ॥ ७४ ॥
 स्वयंवरमहावार्णं स स्वादुजलशालेनीम् ।
 विधाय वसुधां नव्यसुधास्वादमर्यां व्यधात् ॥ ७५ ॥
 उत्तरद्वारपुरतो वैद्यनाथस्य वेशमनः ।
 असूत्रयदसौ तुंगं तोरणं विशदाइमभिः ॥ ७६ ॥
 वृषमंडपेकां द्विभूमिकां विशदैरक्षमभिरस्य बांधवः ।
 इह कांचनकुंभशोभितां पुरतो नृपगृहस्य तेनिवान् ॥ ७७ ॥
 तथासौ निजनाथस्य कालक्षेत्रे तदाव्यया ।
 रेवोरुसंगमे वीरेश्वरदेवकुलं व्यधात् ॥ ७८ ॥
 कुंभेश्वराभिष्ठे तीर्थे तपस्त्रिवर्पन्तचकम् ।
 सर्वांगधर्मसामग्रीकलितं व्यतनोदयम् ॥ ७९ ॥
 ॥ इति दर्भावतीप्रशस्तौ ॥

“Accompanied by the tributary chiefs the son of Asvarāja arrived at the town of Darbhāvati whose *darbha* grass was, so to say, replaced by riches. (62). The wise (*king*), finding the residents of the town were afflicted with the pain of the shaft of terror of the ruler of Palli and had forgotten all other thoughts, constructed round the town a rampart which touched the sky and was made

resplendent by the statues of Mūlarāja and other rulers. It had various courses, it afforded shelter to the virtuous, (*and was meant*), so to say, for the comfort of the gods moving in the sky without a support. He thus removed every fear of the helpless travellers as the Sun removes the mass of darkness. The birth of such persons is verily for the good of humanity. Accompanied by his minister he built the temple (63-66) of the Jina-lord Pārśva, which was marked with gold pitchers, was like Kailāsa, the chief of the mountains, and looked brilliant on account of the rows of moving banners. It had *toranas* and the statues of his predecessors, was like an unguent of nectar for the eyes of the triple world and had one hundred and seventy temples of Jinas round it. The image of Kumāradevī, the mother of the chief minister, riding an elephant and holding a garland of silver flowers in the hand, shines in the porch like the mother of the first lord of the cycle i. e. Rishabhadeva. There he also constructed other good places of fame with a view to please the heart of the Chaulukya king. (70). Such as these:-In the *mandapa* of the Vaidyanātha temple in the town of Darbhāvati Tejahpāla placed twenty-one pitchers of gold. (71). He, who was the chief among the victorious, built a Jina temple in front of the adytum of the temple of Śiva named Vaidyanātha together with the statues of his master and of his beloved queen, (as well as) his own image and the image of his younger brother and his elders. (72). He also put nine sacred gold pitchers in the *udyotas* or sky-lights of nine partitions and they looked like illuminators. (73). In the two doors of the western and the northern verandah he placed two *prāstasīs* speaking of his auspicious fame. (74). Having himself made a beautiful well shining with sweet water he made the earth full of the relish of the fresh ambrosia. (75). In front of the northern gate of the abode of Vaidyanātha he erected a high *torana* of white marble. (76). Here a relative of his built of marble a small porch for the bull (*Vṛisha-mandapikā*) in two storeys adorned with gold *kalasas* in front of the palace or residence of the king. (77). He also built at the confluence of the Revā and the Ěru in the Kālakshetra the temple of Viresvara which he so named after his liege lord the king (Viradhabala). (78). At the sacred place called Kumbhesvara he built five abodes of ascetics where a complete material for religious performances was kept. (79).

In the *prāstasī* of Darbhāvati”

The account of Dabhoi which this *prāstasī* supplies would show that the rampart round the town was constructed in the time of Viradhabala. The other buildings mentioned in this panegyric are not to be found now. They could not have withstood the fury of the iconoclasts, the more so because they had so much of gold in them.

The *Sukritasainkirtana* of Pandit Arisimha, which was probably written between the Samvat years 1278 and 1287, would show that the gold pitchers were removed from the temple of Vaidyanātha by the ruler of Mālwā, but Vastupāla, ‘the minister for the house of sportiveness’ (sports or revels) put them there again and they had the lustre of the sun:-

श्रीवैद्यनाथसदनात्किल मालवेशो
दर्भावतीभुवि जहार सुवर्णकुम्भान् ।
श्रीकेलिवेशमस्त्रिवस्तु स भूमिपाल-
स्तस्मिन् दधौ दिनपतिप्रतिमत्विषस्तान् ॥

Who this 'Mālavesa' mentioned in this verse was is not specified but as things belonging to god Siva are too sacred to be removed by an orthodox high caste Hindu, it would appear that he had no scruples about such considerations¹. The following verses in the *prāśasti*¹ composed in the year 1287 of the Vikrama era by Narendraprabha-sūri in praise of Vastupāla would show that he was Subhātavarmā². These verses would corroborate the statement made in the above mentioned *prāśasti* of the *Vastupālacharita* :—

“ श्रीवैद्यनाथवरेशमनि दर्भवत्यां
 यान् दुर्मदो सुभट्वर्मनृपो जहार ।
 तान् विंशतिं द्युतिमतस्तपनीयकुम्भा—
 नारोपयत् प्रमुदितो हृदि वस्तुपालः ॥ ४८ ॥
 “ श्रीवरिधवलमूर्तिं ज्ययतलदेव्याश्च मूर्तिरसमर्थीः ।
 श्रीमल्लदेवमूर्तिः स्वमूर्तिरनुजस्य मूर्तिश्च ॥ ४९ ॥
 श्रीवैद्यनाथगर्भद्वारवहिमित्संभवे निलये ।
 अन्तर्भक्तिनिमीलितकरकमलाः कारिता येन ॥ ५० ॥

(युग्मम्)

The Sanskrit poem called *Vikramacharita* was composed in Dabhoi (Darbhāvatīpura) by Rāmachandra-sūri in the Vikrama year 1490 (1433 A. D.). This work was published by the Baroda Government in the Education Department with a Gujarātī translation in 1957 V. S. (=1900 A. D.) and is based on the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśatikā* of Kshemāṅkaragāṇi.

The *Yogaśāstravivarana* by Hemāchārya was copied in Dabhoi (Darbhāvatī) in the Vikrama year 1492 (1435 A. D.). This we infer from the colophon:—

संवत् १४९२ वर्षे पौष शु. २ गुरौ अद्येह दर्भवत्यां.....

Dabhoi figures in several late Jaina works but it will not be of much use to quote or refer to them here. The famous Jaina logician Yaśovijaya-*Upādhyāya*, the reputed author of 1444 works, is said to have died in Dabhoi (अनशन करी स्वर्गस्थ थया) in the Samvat year 1743 (=1687 A. D.) and his *deri* or mausoleum still stands in it.

The references which have been given would show that Dabhoi was an educational centre during the late medieval period, for important books were written and copied in it. That it has all along been a prosperous or wealthy town is also shown by the authorities quoted above.

Dabhoi is mentioned in a number of inscriptions which may well be noticed here.

References in inscriptions.

1. शिवनिर्माल्य is like an oath—this is like शिवनिर्माल्य to me.
2. Pandit Lalchand Gandhi of the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, who brought this fact to my notice is editing the *prāśasti* in the *Alankāramahodadhi-Paris'ishtā*.

In the temple of Neminātha at Girnār which is ascribed to the two well-known ministers of Gujarāt, namely, Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, there are six¹ large *prāśastis* all of which are dated Wednesday the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the Vikrama year 1288 (=1231 A. D.). Four of these inscriptions mention the town of Darbhāvati in the following stereotyped expression calling it a chief town (प्रमुखनगर) and showing that it held an important status in Gujarāt during the 13th century :—

‘ श्रीमदणहिलपुरभूगुपुरस्तंभनपुरस्तंभतर्थदर्भवतीधवलक्कप्रमुखनगरेषु ॳ ’

meaning, ‘in the important cities like the prosperous Añahilapura (old Patan), Bhri-gupura (Broach), Stambhanapura (Khambhāyat), Stambhatirtha (Cambay), Darbhavati (Dabhoi), Dhavalakkaka (Dholkā).....’

The long *prāśasti* by Somesvara or Somesvaradeva which is engraved on the two stone slabs (3' x 2'-10") built into the niches of the Hīrā Gate on the inner side wall must have contained a vivid description of Dabhoi. It is unfortunate that it is very badly worn out. The writing on one slab is almost wholly obliterated and no line on the other is now left entire. Vv. 80 ff. will give an idea of the structures caused to be erected in Dabhoi by Visaladeva. The record was published in 1892 by the late Professor Dr. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. I, pp 20 ff.) from the photographs and paper impressions supplied to him by the late Dr. Burgess. Neglect and the action of weather have caused further damage since that date. (Plate I). Owing to its historical value it might well be reproduced here for easy reference. Somesvara also wrote the *Kirtikaumudi* in praise of his patrons. Thus some of the verses are common to both these compositions. One of the verses in the inscription is found in the Tejahpāla *prāśasti* at Abu. The *prāśasti* under notice was composed in the Vikrama year 1311 (1253 A. D.) when both Viradhavala and his Jaina minister Tejahpāla had passed away. It is written in Sanskrit and must have consisted of fifty-nine lines of neatly incised Nāgarī characters which closely resemble those of ancient Jaina palm-leaf manuscripts. The lower portion of the stone bearing the latter half is broken in several places owing to which circumstance lines 44-46 are practically lost and lines 47-59 are seriously injured. Each of the first fifty-two lines has lost several of its letters. It was probably written to commemorate the construction of the Vaidyanātha temple under the orders of Visaladeva. The contents of this interesting panegyric have been summarised thus by Bühler:—

“ Turning to the details, it would seem that the first three verses contained a *māngala* or invocation addressed to Siva Vaidyanātha. A fragment of verse 2 says, ‘May glorious Vaidyanātha himself with his eight bodies grant their desires to the creatures.’ In verse 4 the description of Visaladeva’s ancestors begins; for the end of *pāda* 2 and *pādas* 3-4 speak of ‘the line of the progeny of that (*man*), the good deeds of which (*line*) (*cannot be described*) even by eloquent men.’ As the name of the first ancestor is lost, and verse

1. Girnār inscriptions Nos. 2121-28 as copied in the *Prāchīna-Jaina-lekhasaṅgraha* by Jinavijaya, Bhavnagar, 1921. Part II.

5, too, is gone entirely, full certainty as to the point at which the genealogy begins is not obtainable. But verse six makes it probable that it included the name of the first Chaulukya of Gujarāt. For the fragments of verse six point clearly to its identity with *Kirtikaumudi*, II, 2—‘Won over by the eminent qualities of this conqueror of his foes, the guardian goddess (*S'rī*) of the Gūrjara princes became of her own choice his bride; (just as the goddess (*S'rī*) became the bride of (*Vishṇu*), the foe of Bāṇa (*at the churning of the ocean*)’. In the *Kirtikaumudi* these lines refer to Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Añahilvādā. I do not believe that they can refer here to any body else. For if they had been applied to Dhavala, the first member of the Vyāghrapalliya or Vāghelā branch of the Chaulukyas known to us, Somesvara would be guilty of uttering a deliberate falsehood. Dhavala was according to all accounts not even a minor chief of any consequence. The next verse 7 begins with the word *yasmin*, and hence refers likewise to Mūlarāja. Its sense seems to be that the wives of his enemies tremble or fly into the jungles, ‘when he, an embodied stream of the sentiment of heroism, stands on the back of.....with the intension of fighting.’ In the lost verse 8 the poet seems to have turned to the Vāghelās, and just as in the *Kirtikaumudi* to have begun with Arñorāja. This is evident from verse 9, ‘By whom, even the son of Dhavala, an imitator of Krishṇa, this realm of famous Gūrjara land was made free from thorns.’ Here we have a new version of *Kirtikaumudi* II, 63, ‘By that good warrior who imitated Krishṇa, even by the son of Dhavala, was begun the clearance of the kingdom from thorns’. The fragment of verse 10 informs us further that Arñorāja ‘slew on the battle-field Rañasimha who resembled Rāvaṇa’—a deed which is not mentioned elsewhere. Verse 11 finally confirms the statement of *Kirtikaumudi*, II 66, according to which he himself met his death in battle. It says, ‘Now when his son valiant Lavaṇaprasāda (*was able to sustain*) the load of Gūrjara land, he (*Arñorāja*) offered, his heart being averse to the world, a battle-sacrifice at which he gave his life as fee’.

Next follows the eulogy of Lavaṇaprasāda, verses 12–24, which, besides known events, contains some new historical facts. Verse 12 declares that owing to some deeds of his, the particulars of which are lost, the kingdom of the Gūrjaras was even greater than that of Rāma.’ Verse 13 mentions a fight near Vardhamāna, the modern town of Wadhwan in north-eastern Kāthiāwād with some unnamed powerful foes, regarding which the chronicles are silent. Verse 14,—‘By whom the chief of Nadūla was deeply wounded with his mighty sword; owing to this (*severe stroke*), yon kings quake even today, just as the mountains at a thunder-clap,’—is identical with *Kirtikaumudi*, II, 99, and reiterates the defeat of the Thākur of Nāndol in southeren Mārvād. Verses 15–17 refer to a victory over a Muhammadan king, whose name is not given.

V. 15. How many godlike kings are there not on earth? But even all of them became troubled by the mere mention of the king of the Turushkas. When that (*Turushka* king) excessively angry, approached in order to fight, (*it was Lavaṇaprasāda*) who placed only.....

V. 16. By whom (*Lavaṇaprasāda*) the king of the Turushkas.....who had spattered the earth with the blood flowing from the severed heads of numerous

kings—when he came in front, with dry lips, full of doubt,—was conquered at Stambha with his arm (*strong*) like a post (*stambha*) and terrible through the sword'.

V. 17.If he (*Lavaṇaprasāda*) is a mortal, how is it that he conquered the lord of the Mlechchhas?

This encounter of *Lavaṇaprasāda* with a king of the Trushkas causes a difficulty, especially because Stambha is named as the place where it happened. In *Lavaṇaprasāda*'s time fall three attacks of the Muhammadans on Gujarāt: (1) the unsuccessful expedition of Shahābu'd-dīn Ghori in 1178 A. D.; (2) the first expedition of Qutub'd-dīn in 1194 A. D., during which Anahilavādā was sacked; (3) the second expedition of Qutub'd-dīn, which was at first unsuccessful, but finally led to the temporary conquest of Gujarāt and occupation of Anahilavādā by a Muhammadan garrison. It is very probable that he fought the invaders in all three occasions. But I do not think that any of the engagements which then took place can be referred to in our passage. Both according to the accounts of the Muhammadans and according to those of the Gujarāti chronicles and bards, the decisive battles were fought in southern Rājputānā. On the other hand, Stambha, the scene of the battle mentioned in our inscription, it seems to me, can only be Stambhapura or Stambhatīrtha, the modern Khambāyat—Cambay—, which lies much farther south. For Stambha is the regular abbreviation of these two names, and no other town has hitherto become known in Gujarāt from the name of which it could be derived. If we have then to look out for some other period during which *Lavaṇaprasāda* may have gained his victory, the most probable conjecture seems to be that it happened after the occupation of Anahilavādā in 1196. Sometime later the Muhammadans did suffer a defeat in Gujarāt, and the province shook their yoke off. The details of these events are not given either by the Muhammadan or the Hindu authors; but our passage probably contains an allusion to them, and it may be that *Lavaṇaprasāda* was the liberator of his country.

The fragments of verse 18 inform us that *Lavaṇaprasāda* 'a repository of medicine-like valour, cured (*his country...*) when the crowd of the princes of Dhārā, of the Dekhan and Maru, who resembled diseases (*attacked it*)'.

His success against the kings of Mālwā and the Dekhan are mentioned also in the *Kirtikaumudi*, II, 74–75. As I have pointed out, the first mentioned foe is probably Subhaṭavarmā and the second Singhāna (1209–10 to 1247–48 A. D.) whose inscriptions record several expeditions against Gujarāt. The kings of Maru or Mārvād, who are added here, may possibly be the four princes referred to in *Kirtikaumudi*, IV, 55–65, who attacked Gujarāt at the same time as Singhāna's army.

Verse 19 is purely laudatory: 'He (*Lavaṇaprasāda*) who raises his race, seems to me of greater fame than Yudhishthīra, whose relatives were all destroyed, though their power to remove Salya is equal'. Verse 20 seems to have been of the same import. Verse 21 refers to the erection of a temple of Kumāra near Wādhwan. 'Who (*Lavaṇaprasāda*) caused to be erected in the neighbourhood of

Vardhamāna, a (*temple of*) Kumāra rivalling the ocean (*in the possession of treasures*) and surpassing the moon (*in brilliancy*).’ The sense of the next three verses I am unable to make out from the scanty remnants. With verse 25 begins the praise of Viradhavala. Its complete restoration is easily possible, as it agrees literally with verse 27 of the *prāśasti* in Tejahpāla’s temple at Abu. ‘From him sprang a son, who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha (*spelt Kakustha*), who swallowed like a mouthful the armies of hostile kings,— Viradhavala. When the flood of his fame spread the cleverness of faithless women — whose minds are distressed with the longing after enjoyments — in the art of approaching (*their lovers*)—was destroyed.’

Of the remaining verses referring to Viradhavala, vv. 26–51, little more than single letters or words are legible, except in verse 45, where an unsuccessful combined attack of the lord of Dhārā and of the ruler of the Dekhan is mentioned. The portion of the *prāśasti* which celebrates Visaladeva’s great deeds and virtues, verses 52–108, is likewise in a very bad condition. The only political events traceable are fights with the kings of Mālwā and of the Dekhan (I.29, verse 58) which his grant of V. S. 1317 mentions too, and a hitherto unknown expedition on which ‘Visaladeva kept the hero’s vow on the shore of Sindhu,’ i. e. either of the ocean or of the Indus (l. 30, verse 59). In verse 77 and in those immediately preceding, the manner in which Visaladeva gained the throne of Gujarāt seems to have been described. But the name of the opponent whom he overcame has been lost. All that remains is: 77 ‘Visala (*made...undergo*) the fate of a moth in the fire of his valour’.

V. 78. Then that moon among princes, Visaladeva, after obtaining sway over the world.....

A little further on, with verse 80, begins apparently the account of Visaladeva’s building operations. We hear of the erection of one or several temples of Siva (verses 81 and 91), of the restoration of a temple of the sun, called Mūlasthāna (verse 92), of another ‘temple which resembled a peak of the mountain of Hara,’ i. e. of Kailāsa (verse 93), and that ‘he who in form resembled Cupid renovated the *prākāra*,’ i. e. the enclosure, probably of some other temple. Verses 99–108 praise the king’s liberality. According to verse 100, he gave annually ‘a *kalpalatā* of always increasing value, the cause of the wealth of the Brāhmaṇas.’ Verse 102 says that ‘in his country the sound of the *Vedas*, uttered by untired Brāhmaṇas who were gladdened by fees given at great sacrifices, [ever] meets one’s ears.’ The other verses are of a more general import. In the concluding portion of the poem which opens with the words *itas=cha* Someśvara speaks of the official and architects connected with the building of the temple, of himself, of the writer and the engraver of the *prāśasti*.

V. 109. In the Prāgvāta race was [Sān]ga, the son of illustrious Chāndasimha, who was appointed by the king on account of his confidence (*in him*) to the post (*of guardian*) of the fort of Vaidyesitṛi.

V. 110. What description shall (*I*) give of that minister the flood of whose pure fame filled the earth, erected by whom, the excellent line of ramparts, free from interstices, dived into the abode of the gods.

V. 111. There was a mason, called Sādeva, a store of all good qualities; from him sprang Vāmadeva, famous for having built the temple of the Sun, called Mūlasthāna. As his son was born he who is called Madana, a scion of (*the race of*) Viśvakarman, the builder (*sūtradhāra*) of the wall of (*glorious*) Vaidyēśa, of the extensive temple, of the gates, of the wings and of the foundations.

V. 112. The son of Ahlādāna, called Devāditya, who (*became*) the firm architect of Vaidyēśī, is famous in the first rank of masons.

V. 113. Glorious Vaidyanātha, worshipful sole protector of the world, I address a prayer to thee — 'May, O God, through thy favour, that Viśaladeva, free from cares caused by foes, and united with his sons, be victorious during ten thousand *Kalpas*!'

V. 114. The chief domestic priest of the kings, born.....who is called Somesvara deva, made this panegyric, producing the great composition in half a watch of the night.

V. 115. And the excellent Brāhmaṇa Prahlādāna, the son of Śriyāmanda (?) in the gotra of famous Nandipura wrote this panegyric,

V. 116. By skilful Padmasimha, foremost among masons, the son of the mason Sajjana was this panegyric incised.

Samvat 1311, on the 15th day of the bright half of Jyeshṭha, Wednesday. May it be well!"

The text of the *prāśasti* as read by the above named scholar is reproduced below:—

Transcript

L 2	... पाद ...	...	...	...	...
	... शु ...	...	...	...	तप्राणि[ना]-
	मष्टभिस्तनुभिस्तनोत्वभिः[पतं] श्रीवैद्य[नाथः स्वयम् ॥ २] ¹⁴				
	... विधेविंविः[दधतु]	किल के	...	...	...

" 3	...	...	...	प्रसिद्धा ॥ ३	...
	...	...	शु ...	...	...
	...	...	तदपत्यपरंपरासौ ।	...	...
	शक्यानि वाक्यनिषुणैरपि - रि - -				
	— - ~ [म] चसुहृदः सुकृतानि यस्याः ॥ [४] ¹⁵				

	...	...	...	...	... [ ॥ ५]
	[आव-]				

(a)

52

L 4	जिंता जितारा[तेर्गुणैर्वाण]रि[पोरिव] गूर्जेरेश्वर[राज्य]श्रीर्यस्य जडे स्वयंवरा ॥ ६ ¹⁶ यस्मिन् शरीरवति वीररस[प्रव]हे [म]हें[द]पृष्ठमधितष्ठति युद्धबुद्धया । अंतःपुराणि ॥ ७ ¹⁷
„ 5	... गुणरत्नराजि ... गंभीरता जगति ॥ ८ ¹⁸ धवलस्य सुतेनापि येन कृष्णानुकारिणा । श्रीगूर्जरथराराज्यमेतन्निष्कट्कीकृतं ॥ ९ ¹⁹ रावणमिव रण(सिंहं संह[त्य] र(ण)ं(गणे) ॥ १०
„ 6	अथात्मजे गूर्जरभूमिभार- धी[र लवणप्र]सादे चकार संसारविरक्तबुद्धि- युद्धक्रतुं जीवितदक्षिणं सः ॥ ११ ²¹ यस्मिन्विस्मयनीयविक्रमगुणे क्षोणीमिमां रक्षति क्षीणा ॥ १२
„ 7	नासीद्वर्जरराज्यमेतदधिकं श्री[राम]राज्यादपि ॥ १२ ²² दोर्दर्पदुद्धरविरोधिशिरोधिरकः श्रीवर्द्धमानसविधे वसुधां विलिप्य । मुक्ताफलैर्दलितकुंजरकुंभमुक्ते - यौं वर्द्धमानमभिमानमधि ॥ १३ ²³ [जच्ने येनासिदंडेन गाढं नडुल]नायक [:] [नि]
„ 8	र्धतेनेव तेनामी कंपेतेयापिभूभृतः ॥ १४ ²⁴ राजानः कति नाम नामरसमाः संति क्षमायां परं ते सर्वैषि तुरुष्कराज्यक[थ]यायस्वस्थतां विभ्रति । तस्मिन्योद्दुमुपागतेऽतिकुपिते धत्ते स्मयः के[व]लं कर्तां ॥ १५
„ 9	द्विरदो मदोकट ह - - - जः कृत्तानेकनरेंद्रमौलिविगलद्रकामिष्कावनिः । सोपि प्राप्य पुरस्तुरुष्कनृपतिः शृष्काधरः शंकया साकं येन कृपाणभीषणभुजस्तमेन [स्तं]मे जि[तः] ॥ १६

16 Metre, Anushtubh.

21 Metre, Upajāti.

17 Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

22 Metre, Sârdûlavikridita

18 Metre, Ārvâ (?)

23 Metre, Vasantatilaka

19 Metre, Anushtabh

24 Metre, Anushtubh.

L 10

दशामासीत्तदित्यं कथं
 मर्त्यश्वेन्मनुजैरज्ञेयमज्ञ[य]न् म्लेच्छाधिनाथं कथं ॥ १७
 धाराधीश्वरदक्षिणेश्वरमस्त्रक्षोणीश्वराणां गणे
 रोगणामि[व] संनिष ल ॥ १८ ॥

विक्रमौषध[नि] -

,, 11

धिश्वके चिकित्सामसौ
 ज्वर कधन्वतरिः ॥ १९²⁵
 तुल्येषि शल्योद्धरणप्रभावे
 गुधिष्ठिराद्वस्तसमस्तवंधोः ।
 समुन्नयन्नेष कुवं स्वकीय-
 मुत्कृष्टकीर्तिः प्रतिभासते मे ॥ २०²⁶

हे वि ॥

,, 12

पाणि पार्थस्य या
 चारित्रं च तदत्र याद[व]पतेश्वौलुक्यचंद्र ॥ २१²⁷
 सविधे वर्द्धमान[स्य] स्पर्द्धमानं पयोधिना ।
 अधःकृतसुधासारं यः कुमारमकारयत् ॥ २२²⁸

...

,, 13

राजस्य ॥ २३
 - - ; परि पवित्रमतेऽर्जनस्य
 - - र्थमर्थिजनजं
 - - - -
 - - - - प्रयत्नः ॥ २४²⁹
 नर्मदातटनिविष्टविष्टपा
 नंदिनं [।]
 - - - -
 - - - - ॥ २५³⁰
 सुत -]

,, 14

[स्तस्यादासी]दशरथकुस्थप्रतिकृतिः
 [प्र]तिक्षमापालानां कवलितवलो वीरधवलः
 यशःपूरे यस्य [प्रसरति रतिक्षांतमनसा -]
 [मसाध्वीनां भग्नाभिसरणक]लायां कुशलता ॥ २६³¹

ते - - - किमपि

L 23

धारापतिर्दक्षिणा ॥
 युग्मपत्स]मेतौ ।
 धीरस्तयोरेव समानतं

25 Metre of verses 15-18, Sār-
 dūlavikrīdita.

26 Metre, Upajāti.

27 Metre, Sārdūlavikrīdita

28 Metre, Anushṭubh.

29 Metre, Vasantatilakā.

30 Metre, Rathoddhatā.

31 Metre, Sikharinī.

॥ [४

निका ० - - ० ० धन्वकार ॥ [४५]³²

32 Metre, Upajāti.

33 Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

34 Metre of verses 76-77, Sārdulavikridita. Read सा येन स्थितिः

35 Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

36 · Metre of verses 80-81, Vas-
antatilakâ.

37. Metre, Sārdūlavikrīdīta.

38 Metre, Upajāti.

39 Metre, Āryā.

40 Metre of verses 92-96. Anushtubh

41 Metre, Anushtubh.

42 Metre, Sârdulavikrîdita

43 Metre, Anushtubh.

L 52 - - y - 1

अश्रांतकुदक्षिणा प्रमुदित ब्रह्म प्रयुक्तः पुन-
 वैदानां ध्वनि रध्वनि ध्वणयोरस्यैव देशोऽवि- [॥ १०२]⁴⁵
 [कनक] वितरण प्रसिद्धिमस्य
 क्षितिरमणस्य निशम्य लज्जमानः ।
 वलिरपि मलिनं विभर्ति वक्त्रं
 किमपि न ज ० ० - ० - ० - - [॥ १०३]⁴⁶

53 - - - - - मे तावतीः समाः ।

तदात्रा येन पाशाणां लुप्तं दारिद्र्यशासनं ॥ १०४⁴⁷
 वराकानुर्वराकांतान्कस्तुत्यां - - - - ते ।
 सुधामवंतमंशु वा हिमांशु वा ब्रुवे समं ॥ १०५
 असुस्थः काकुस्थः कृतकुलहतिः कौरवपति-
 वर्यधादे - - नो ० ० ० ० ० कल ध्रीवपु ० - ।

„ 54 व - पतः श्वतः शमिषु पुरुषः सोपि नहुष -
स्ततः श्लाघ्यं लोके तमहमवलोके नृपवरं ॥ १०६⁴⁸
वरोच्चने रचितवत्यमरेशमैत्री -
मेकत्र नागनगरं च गते द्वितीये ।
दीनाननं भुवनमूर्धमधश्च पद्ध्य-
दाश्वासितं पुनरुदारकरेण येन ॥ १०७⁴⁹
धर्मस्थानं विधिना विधा - - -

— — — तिलको यः ।
 धर्मस्थानैः स्वकृतैः सुकृती सोयं चिरं जयतु ॥ १०८⁵⁰ इतश्च
 प्राग्वाटवंशे ॥ ॥ ॥ गनामा
 श्रीचंडसिंहस्य सुतो बभूव ।
 यः क्षोणिपालेन निजप्रतीत्या
 वैद्योशितुर्दुर्गमपदेऽधिचक्रे ॥ १०९⁵¹
 किं वर्णनीयमधुना सचिवस्य तस्य
 सत्कीर्ति॑[प] ।-

, 56 रपरिपूरितभूतलस्य ।
 यत्कारितोऽृद्गमरनिर्विवरप्रकार-
 प्राकारपद्धतिरागाहत नाकिलोकं ॥
 [आ]सीत्सादेवनामा सकलगुणनिः
 न्मूलस्थानात्यभानोर्भवनविरचनात्
 तस्योत्पत्त्वस्तनजो मदनसमाभिधो ॥

44 Metre, Ārvâ.

45 Metre, Sârdûlavikrîdita.

46 Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

47 Metre, of verses 104-105,
Anushtuh.

48 Metre, Sikharini.

49 Metre, Sârdûlavikrîdita.

50 Metre, Āryā.

51 Metre, Indravajrâ.

52 Metre, Vasantatilakā.

L 57

मर्म]प्रसूनः

श्रीमद्वैद्येशवप्रप्रविततसदनद्वारशाखाधिकर्त्ता ॥ १११⁵³
 आहुदनस्य तन[यो भूतो] वैद्येशितुः स्थिरः स्थपतिः ।
 देवादित्यसमाख्यः ख्यातो भूरि सूत्रधाराणां ॥ ११२⁵⁴
 श्रीवैद्यनाथ भगवन् भुवनैकनाथ
 त्वार्थये किमपि देव तव प्रसादात् ।
 नित्यं प-]

,, 58

राधिरहितः सहितश्च पुनैः
 कल्पायुतं जयतु वीसलदेव पषः ॥ ११३⁵⁵
 प्रशस्तिमेता[म] ～ ～ ～ ～
 संभूतभूपालपुरोहितेद्रः ।
 चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा
 यामार्द्धनिष्पत्रमहाप्रबंधः । ११४⁵⁶
 श्रियामंदस्य तनयः श्री नंदिपुरगो[च]जः ।

,, 59

प्रलहादनोऽलिख[त्तां च] प्रशस्तिं द्विजपुंगवः ॥ ११५⁵⁷
 सूत्रसज्जनपुत्रेण पद्मसिंहेन शिलिपना ।
 सूत्रधारभुरीणेन [प्रशस्तिरुदृकीर्यत ॥ ११६
 संवत् १२११ वर्षे ज्येष्ठशुद्धि १५ ब्रूधदिने ॥ छ ॥ - ॥ - ॥
 शु[भे] भवतु ॥ छ ॥ * ॥

There is another inscription which is engraved on the white marble slabs now built into a niche on the north side of the Hirā Gate. It is in Marathi and belongs to the reign of Maharaja Damaji Rao Gaekwad, the illustrious son of Maharaja Pilaji Rao Gaekwad. Various structures in Dabhoi, shrines and others, are detailed in it. The chief tank of the town with young damsels coming to fetch water finds a special mention. From the contents of this record it would appear that the present tomb of Māmā Dokri was originally a Hindu temple sacred to Siva and meant for detecting crime. Subsequently it was converted into the present tomb by the Musalmāns. The stone ring (Plate II) preserved in the compound of the tomb is still pointed out as having been used for ordeals in deciding suspected persons' guilt or innocence by subjecting them to the physical test of passing through it. An accused who could pass through the ring safely was considered to have been acquitted by divine means. The ring is so small that only a very thin person can come out of it. The smooth inner surface would give us an idea of the cases which this mute stone must have decided in olden days. The Musalmāns call it Māmā Dokri's stone.

Lines 49-51 would indicate that the inscription was placed on the Burhānpurā Gate but was brought to its present position when that gate became ruinous.

This inscription (Plate III) has been published with a free translation in Vol. I of the 'Historical Selections from the Baroda State Records'. It is interesting

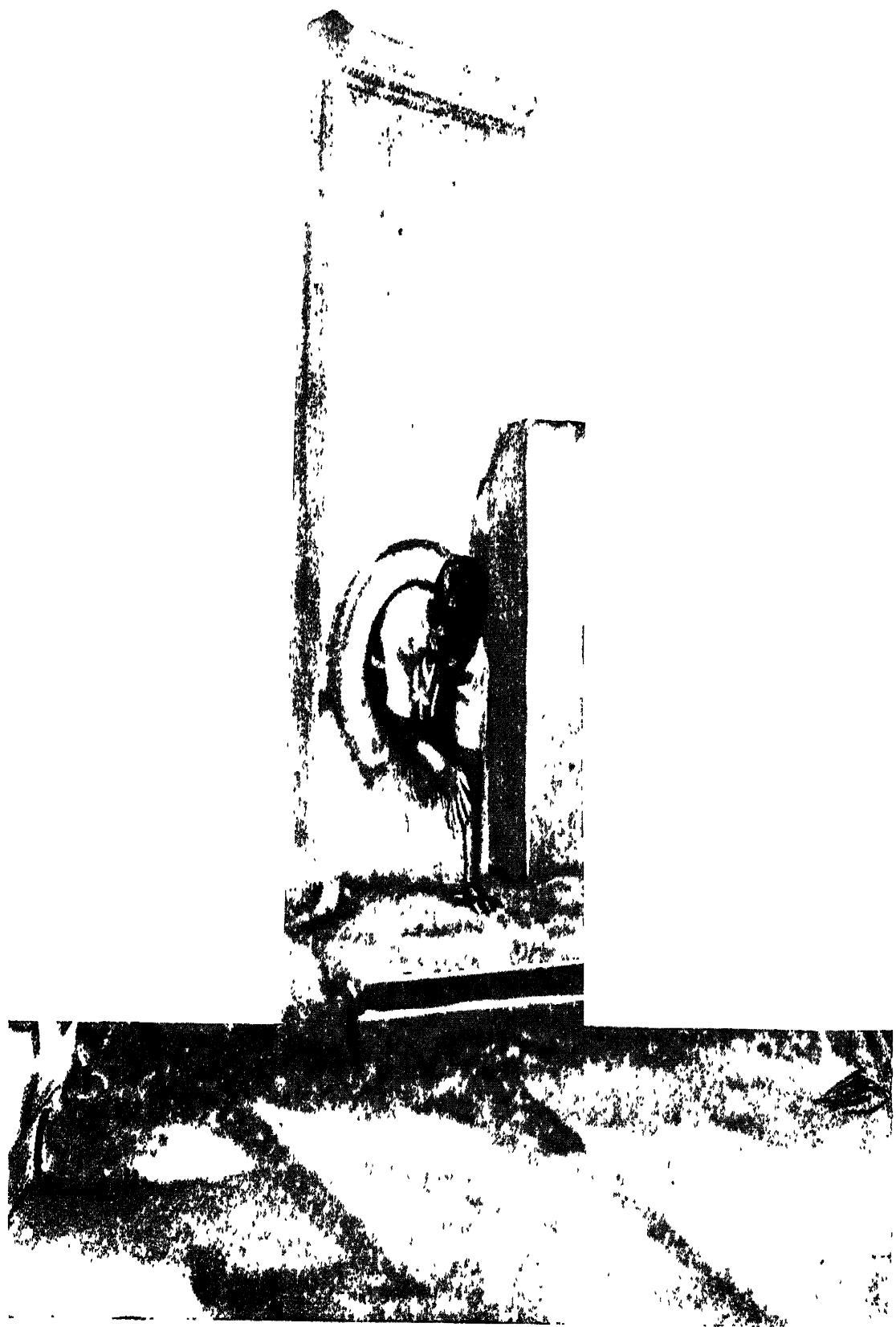
53 Metre Sārûlavikrīdita.

55 Metre, Vasantatilakā,

54 Metre, Āryā.

56 Metre, Upajāti.

*Metre of the verses 115-116, Anushtubh.



Māmā Dokri's Stone with a boy trying to crawl through the hole.

in that it gives a detailed account of the flourishing condition of Dabhoi as it stood in the first half of the eighteenth century of the Christian era. I reproduce the text and translation of it below :—

श्री

डभई येथील शिलालेख

१ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ प्रथम नमो श्रीगजवदना ॥ सिद्धिबुद्धिच्या तुं रमणा ॥ विद्यादातारा सकल भुवना ॥ विघ्ननाशना आदि मुर्ति ॥ १ ॥

२ जे शारदेप्रती ॥ जेणे कल्याण त्रिजगति ॥ वागवि कवित्वस्फुर्ती ॥ तव प्रसादे होतसे ॥ २ ॥ शतदा नमन गुरुवर्या ॥ प्रकाशरू-

३ पे तु स्वामीया ॥ ग्रन्थक्षानी निरंतर काया ॥ चरणप्रसादे तुझेनी ॥ ३ ॥ श्री कालिका आदि अंबा ॥ मुलमाया जगदंबा ॥

४ प्रकाशरूपे हिरंबा । मातृ जननी विश्वाचि ॥ ४ ॥ तव चरणे तत्पर पिलाजिसुत निरंतर । दमाजी प्रताप समशेर । बा-

५ हादुर ऐसे बोलति ॥ ५ ॥ महाप्रतापि भुरंधर । जगप्रसिद्ध श्रेष्ठ वीर ॥ कलियुगामाजि समशेर । कीर्तीं जाली भूमंडली ॥ ५ ॥

६ तयाचा दासांकित यशस्वी जाण । यमुनाजिसुत सयाजी धात्रकनिधान । नगर दर्भावति पूर्व प्राचीन । विशालदेवे निर्भि-

७ लि ॥ ७ ॥ महा मुहूर्तसाधन । ज्योतिशिकणक परिपूर्ण । परचक्र पातलिया जाण । भय पावति सर्वथा ॥ ८ ॥ तुलान्ग नित्या-

८ पुतिजननि । अष्ट दिशा दिक्पालगणी । दुर्गरक्षण निशिदिनि । मात्र आळे करितसे ॥ ९ ॥ पूर्वांशे ब्रह्मरुदयोनि ।

९ अद्यापि साक्ष विश्वनयनि । अन्याय चौरकर्म ते क्षणी । दंडण करी पापिष्ठा ॥ १० ॥ कलियुगामाजि माई डोकरि । अविधराजे-

१० जालियावरि । प्रचीत देखोनी पुरी । महणौनि भजनी तात्काळ ॥ ११ ॥ श्री देविपृष्ठी अमृतकूप ज्यावरी सूर्य निज प्रत्यक्ष ओप । श्री-

११ गंगोदका जो स अनुप । प्रभाव जीला जग है ॥ १२ ॥ महणोनि कुंभ घेऊनि सुवासिनी । जला येती जैश्या पश्चिमी । द्वादशवर्ष चतुर्दश-

१२ गुणि । पंचदशी वा पंधरा ॥ १३ ॥ शोडश संवत्सर शोडशांगना । कामरूपी जशा कामिनी । य वे ये नि भरित मदना । कटाक्षबाणे विंधि-

१३ ति ॥ १४ ॥ तयामाजि पवित्र पुरुष नारी । रक्षण करिति नानापरी । लज्जा नयनी तयांतरी । सौदामिनीचे हातसे ॥ १५ ॥ नेमुनि अग्रेदि-

१४ यि माजि रुद्रा । फतिनाग बुरुज मोठा । नाथ राजराजेश्वराचा । जिराग नित्य निदात्म खता ॥ १६ ॥ तवचरणगति णजनरदे । तुरुक-

१५ शहाचार्चे भेद । अहंता प्रमंत विराद । एकी एक जाणती ॥ १७ ॥ दक्षण दिशेशी आदिमाया । शांतिरूपे शीतल काया । शीतल नाम तांद्रम-

१६ या । भक्तजना शांतवी ॥ १८ ॥ प्राच्य दिशेमाजि एक पीर । चौत्रिया नाम उच्चार । भक्तिभावे असुर । भजनी जाण सर्वदा ॥ १९ ॥ दुर्गामाजि पंचेश्वर-

१७ र । पंचवक्त्र परमेश्वर । वक्तुंड हनुमानवीर । दक्षिणदिशा रक्षिती ॥ २० ॥ तेथे दरवाजा एक । नांदोदी नाम सुविवेक । (रच)ना नुतन ह्याणौनि लोक ।

१८ येउनी शोभा पाहति ॥ २१ ॥ नैक्रत्य दिशेसि बुरुज । भुदरनाम विशालराज । तेथुनी विकाळ दिसे भुज । वाव्यदिशा पर्यंत ॥ २२ ॥ दशदिशाचि मांडणी । अपूर्व

१९ मा थिति माथनि । रक्षपाल विश्वगुणी । वाघनाथ नामाविधि ॥ २३ ॥ तेथे दरवाजा नियोजि निपुण । बडोदिया नामाभिधान । छेदि परचक्राचे मान । पश्चिम दुर्ग पाम-

२० ति ॥ २४ ॥ जेथे मुखिया उग्र पीर । सैद नामाचा उच्चार । म्लेच्छ भजती तत्पर । दीप करिति घृताचे ॥ २५ ॥ वायव्य दिशा पंचयोगिनि । तेथुनि बुरुजाचि मांडणी । अ-

२१ विंधे चमत्कार देखुनी । पंच विविध बोलति ॥ २६ ॥ उत्तम दिशेचा परम महिमा । महाकाळि प्रसिद्ध अनिमा । अहंकार रूपि दे भनपि मविलंबे ॥ २७ ॥ तेथे

२२ दरवाजा जाण णार । चंपानेरी नाम उच्चार । लावि शोभा चमत्कार । चित्रविचित्र शोभति ॥ २८ ॥ तेथे असुरी चमत्कार । नाम बाले कि शर मंदिर । तो जोर दुराज धर्म दार ॥ तेणे तेथे दर्श-

२३ ने ॥ २९ ॥ ईशान्य दिशे शाम बुरुज । तथा रक्षण विश्वराज । ज्याचा पराक्रम महज । परदल भासे तृणवत ॥ ३० ॥ तेथे पीर दरग नाम शद । प्रचुर देइ नित्यानन्द । अपुला

२४ जा भावं आ त द । भजति जाण सर्वदा ॥ ३१ ॥ तटाक नागेश्वर परिपूर्ण । अंतःपुरी आणिला बांधोन । गुप्तरूपे केले स्थापन । तनिय दरिद्रा जन्म ॥ ३२ ॥ वड

२५ नाम सन्निध अरविन्दमुर्ति । भक्ता निमित्य भास्त्वति । भयंकर दिसे ज्वाला मुर्ति । ह्याणौनि गैब पीर बोलति ॥ ३३ ॥ चौत्रा सन्मुख महा पीर । काजी ना-

२६ म पुरंदर । परदलो जय समशेर । नामे तुझेनि पावति ॥ ३४ ॥ कोठार रक्षक मीर समस्त । नवाब समशेर सदा मस्त । परदल करिता निःपात । नाम

२७ मार्जन केलि ॥ ३५ ॥ ऐसे पुरातन नगर स्थापिले । ... जीर्ण जाले । तयासि घावरै... केले । स्वामि प्रसादे करुनि ॥ ३६ ॥ श्रीदेवी कालिका म-

२८ मिरु । बन्हानपुरि दरवाजा प्रसिद्ध । पूर्व दिशा प्रमाणपूज्य । उंच सर्वीस गज गणती ॥ ३७ ॥ चौरस मे क नवांकित ॥ दौ रोषा उपर रक्षिता । हि प्रति दि-

२९ न नुः शोभत । लग्नमंडण मांडिल्या ॥ ३८ ॥ एकयोजन पर्यंत । कलस दिसति भयाग्रज । तारा साद नीतिसुत । राजा बोलति ऐकावे ॥ ३९ ॥

३० धसे जगत्रजननी । ते करिते दुर्गाते रक्षणि । निशीदिन पाळण भक्त जननि । करिते स्वामिनि दिनाची ॥ ४० ॥ गुर्जर देश महिमंडळी । दमसिंग जा-

३१ ण प्रतापि वली । सिंधुमर्यादा चांगलि । भुवैकुंठद्वारका ॥ ४१ ॥ हल्लार देश सौराष्ट्र देश । दांता आणि कछु प्रदेश । मुख्येत्वा न नलदेशवीर-

३२ सेन पट्टण ॥ ४२ ॥ यामाजि एक बहुमुक्तान । स्मरण केलिया पापहनन । दर्शन आलिया पुण्यपावन । प्राणि होति सर्वदा ॥ ४३ ॥ शिल्प-

३३ लिंदा महिमा अति उत्तम । कर्नालि आणि चांडोद ग्राम । हे तिरा मांडवा ओरसंगम । श्री रेवे
माजि होतसे ॥ ४४ ॥ श्रीनर्मदातीर उत्तम नदी ।

३४ शिवरुपी महाआनंदि । आदि अनादि महासिद्धी । पावन करिति विश्वाते ॥ ४५ ॥ श्रीकुबेर
आणि सोमेश्वर । श्रिलोकनाथा तुं उदार । गायक-

३५ वाडवंशी भांडार । परिपूर्ण आहेजी सर्वदा ॥ ४६ ॥ महिरवा उभय नदी । दर्भावती नाम प्रसिद्धि ।
एमनानी सुत महाबुद्धि । एकनिष्ठे-

३६ निर्धार ॥ ४७ ॥ स्वामिवचनी एमांकित । श्रीकृष्णे दि कि तं । कौशिकाचा केला निःपात । महा-
प्रतापे करुनि ॥ ४८ ॥ रेवा उत्तरती-

३७ रि संवत् । गणना अष्ट आणि शत । विक्रम शकाचे प्रमुख । स्त पं थि जाणपां ॥ ४९ ॥ शके
शोडष समनीन । प्रजापति नाम संवत्सर जाणा ।

३८ माघमास कृष्णपक्ष । तिथ सप्तमि पै असे ॥ ५० ॥ दक्षण तीरी नृपवर । शालिवाहन राजश्वर ।
समाप्ति जाति गुरु(वासर) । बुरानपुरी दर-

३९ वाजे ॥ ५१ ॥ जनक विश्वेश इयंबकनाथ । माता वाराणसी क्षेत्र नाम । माता भीमा गंगा आप ।
धुंडीराज जेष्ठ बंधु ॥ ५२ ॥ वंधु व रा ण ना नी द जाण ।

४० भैरव खड्डधारि परिपूर्ण । भगिनी नाम उभयता जाण । काशि आणि मणिकर्णिका ॥ ५३ ॥
श्लोक ॥ मंगलं लेखकानांच । पाठकानांच मंगलं ।

४१ मंगलं सर्व लोकानां । भूमिर्षूपतिमंगलं ॥ ५५ ॥ श्रीकर्चेरी आणि अंतरग्रह । सुंदर भुवन निर्मिले
पाहोजति । रचनार काना दो । विश्वकर्मे निर्मिती ॥ १ ॥

४२ गुघति शोधा । जेसि अमरपुरी तथा । तैसी पुरंदर प्रांति दिसे शोभा । कारगरमे दिसतसे ॥ २ ॥
गाधितानमणि नु न ना कडि येताति शेतोविंबगर्ति-

४३ विंतिसुजामहंत । त्र मुर्ते ते गैं मासो । गामिचाण शिकार चन्द्र । शंतु आणि सार मंदिर
नानापरिचे चमत्कार । शकभुवना सारिखे ॥ श्री ॥

टीपः—या शिलालेखांत

१ पांचव्या ओवीमध्ये दमाजी गायकवाडाचा उल्लेख येतो.

२ सातव्या ओवीमध्ये सयाजी यमुनाजी धात्रक असे नांव येते. हा ईसम डभोईचा किल्लेदार
होता.

३ पन्नास व एकावन अशा दोन ओव्यांमध्ये प्रजापति संवत्सर, माघ वद्य ७ गुरुवार अशी मित्ति
आहे. या मित्तिस शके १६५५ संवत् १७९० तारीख १४ माहे फेब्रुवारी सन १७३४ आहे.

या प्रमाणे महत्वाची माहिती असून यांत डभोईची चतुःसिमा पुढीलप्रमाणे वर्णिली आहे.

१ पूर्व—१ हीरा भागोळ, चैत्रिया पीर, ३ मार्ई डोकरी व ४ बन्हाणपुरी दरवाजा.

२ पश्चिम—१ वडोदरा भागोळ २ मुखिया पीर, ३ वाघनाथ.

३ दक्षिण—१ शितल्लदेवी व २ तलाव, ३ नांदोदी दरवाजा, ४ हनुमान.

४ उत्तर—१ महाकाळी, २ चांपानेर दरवाजा.

५ अद्वय—१ फक्तेनाग बुरुज.

६ नैऋत्य—भूधर बुरुज.

७ इशान्य—गेब पीर.

८ वायव्य—पंचविविध बुरुज.

FREE TRANSLATION

Verses 1-3:—Invocation of gods.

„ 4-5:—O goddess Kāli, Damaji, the son of Pilaji Samsher Bahadur, is devoted to you.

Verse 7:—He has a servant, Sayaji Yamunaji Dhatrak. The ancient town Darbhavati was founded by Vishaladeva.

Verses 8-9:—The town of Darbhavati was founded on an auspicious day. It strikes terror into the hearts of the invaders. The eight guardians of the directions of the earth protect the fort under the orders of the Mother.

„ 10-15:—To the east there exists the shrine of Brahmā-Rudra-Yoni intended for the detection of crimes. Subsequently, the Muslim kings built there a tomb called Māi Dokāri. There is a water tank behind the temple of the Goddess posed to the sun's rays. (Here the poet describes women coming to the tank to fetch water.)

„ 16-17:—To the south-east there is a large bastion called Fattenāg, which contains the shrine of Rājarājeśvaranātha. A Muhammadan king tried to break the idol with his bow.

V. 18:—To the south there is the temple of Sītalā-mātā who favours her worshippers.

„ 19:—To the east, there is the tomb of a saint called Chautriyā worshipped by the Muhammadans.

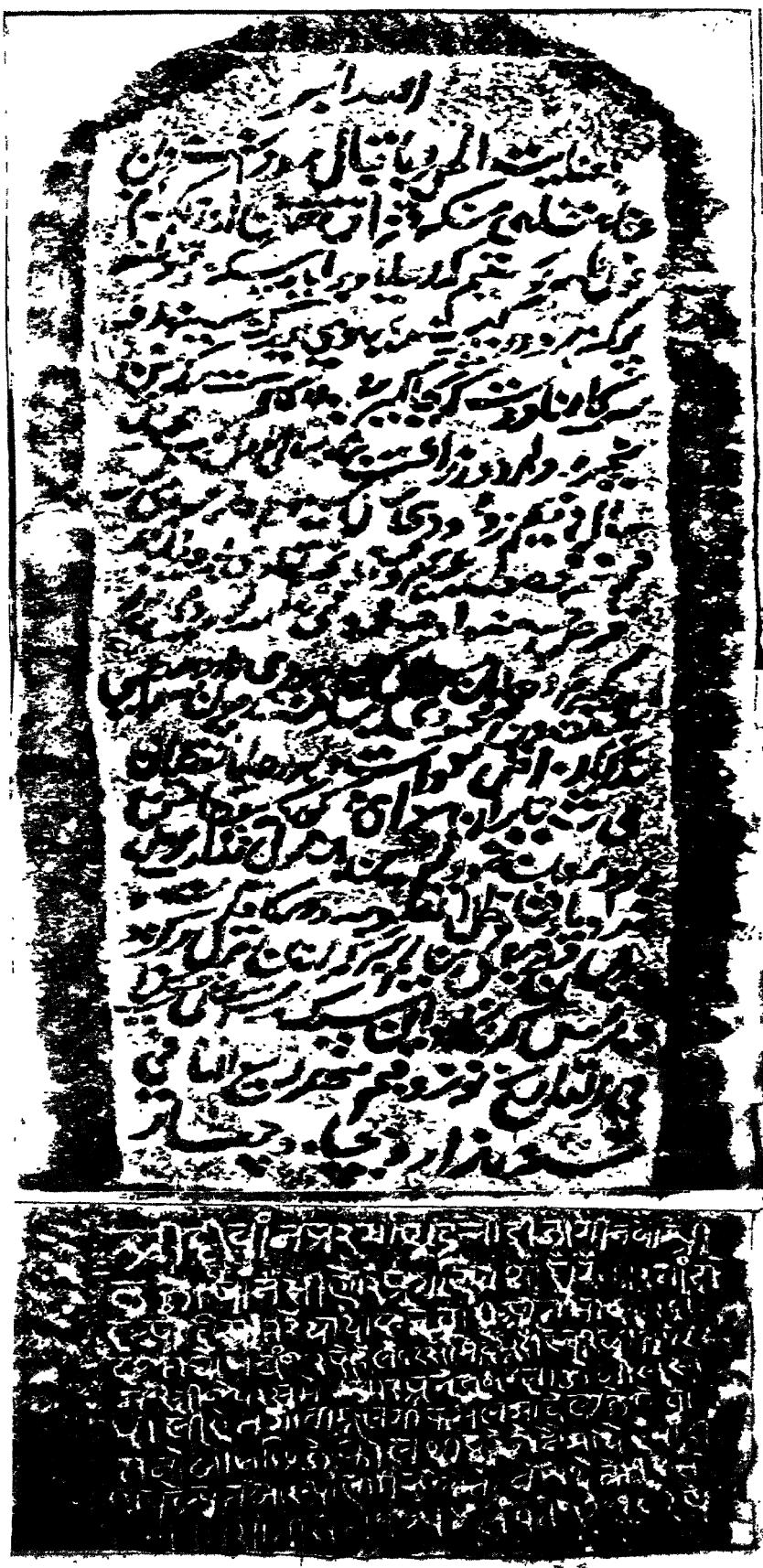
Vv. 20-21:—Within the fort, the south is protected by Pañcheśvara Mahādeva, Gaṇapati and Hanumān; and there is an attractive gate there called the Nandodi Gate.

„ 22-25:—To the south-west there is a large bastion called Bhūdara commanding the fierce-looking wall of the fort on the north-west. The whole fort is protected by Vāghanātha, the omnipotent God. Nearby is situated the Barodā Gate which withstands the enemy's attack and which leads to the western wall. There is also a Pir called Mukhiyā worshipped by the Muhammadans.

V. 26:—To the north-west there are five Yogini goddesses. A bastion also stands there.

Vv. 27-29:—The famous Mahākāli, the destroyer of pride, is situated to the north where stands the Chāmpāner Gate in all its glory.

„ 30-33:—Towards the north-east there is the Shyāma bastion protected by Viśvarāja by whose powers the invading armies are rendered powerless like blades of grass. Nearby is a Dargāh devoutly worshipped by the people..... The Nāgeśhwara Ghāṭ extends to the harem with a secret passage (for the use of the ladies of the harem). In the vicinity of Vadānam there is an awe-inspiring idol of Narasimha (subsequently) called (by the Muhammadans) Ghāib Pir (the Invisible Saint).



Vv. 34-35:—Near the Chautā there is a tomb of a great saint called Kāzī whose name brings victory in strife. The Mirs and the Nawābs, the keepers of stores, are infused with spirit by his name and havoc in the enemy's camp.

„ 36-40:—An ancient city was thus rebuilt, and the ancient tank which was dilapidated was repaired. Near the great Kālikā stands the famous Burhānpuri Gate facing the east. It is 52 feet in height and the gateway is 38 feet deep. It shines in glory every day like a marriage pandal. Its towers are visible from a distance of eight miles striking terror (into the heart of the beholder)... Nearby is the Mother of the three worlds who protects the fort.

„ 41-45:—In the land of Gujarāt, Damasimha (Damāji) is known as brave and mighty. Gujarāt extends as far as the sea on whose coast is situated the town of Dvārakā—the heaven on the earth. (It includes) the provinces of Hallāra, Saurāshṭra, Danta, Cutch, Anahilavādā and Patan. In these provinces the good goddess Shailya-Limbā holds her sway and her remembrance destroys sins and her sight purifies all living beings. There are the towns of Karnāli, Chāndod and Māndwā. The river Or skirting these towns falls into the Narmadā which purifies the world.

„ 46-48:—By the grace of Kuberesvara and Somesvara, the Lords of the three worlds, the treasure of the Gaekwads is always full. The talented son of Jamunāji, living at Dabhoi between the rivers Māhi and Narmadā, was the devoted servant of Damaji. While protecting the fort he annihilated Kaushika with great glory.

„ 49-51:—(This was done at Burhanpuri Gate on Thursday, 14-2-1734).

„ 52-53:—(The author describes his relations).

V. 54:—May this be auspicious to the author, to the readers, to all the people, to the earth and to the king.

Many short epigraphs have been noticed in the citadel. They are mostly names of visitors or of masons. Several such records are found engraved in the inner walls of the bastion which has now become a Muhamadan shrine and is called Pāñchbībī-ki-dargāh. The Musalmāns say that it is the mausoleum of five Muslim virgins who were killed there. The inscriptions incised on its walls are worn and do not seem to throw any light on the history of the citadel.

The bilingual record found outside the Ganje Shahid Dargāh in the middle of the town near the city tank on the side of the main bazar is noteworthy. The epithet of Shahid would show that the dargāh marks the place where some Musalmāns became martyrs. But the inscription makes no mention of any such incident. The upper part of the inscription is in Persian and the lower one in Gujarātī though written in Devanāgarī alphabet. Both the portions are dated. The inscription in Persian gives “19th of the month of Rabi'u's-sānī of the Hijrī year 1054”, and the record in Devanāgarī gives Samvat 1701 as well as the Hijrī year 1054. The accompanying Plate IV reproduces the two inscriptions. Both of them give the names of villages and the *paraganās* to which they

belonged, i. e., Peṭlād, Sinor, Dabhoi and Baroda. Nandālā, evidently Nandod in the Rājpiplā State, is mentioned as *sarkār*. Both speak of *taqāvi* or advance made at the time of sewing seeds. Their respective texts read as follows:—

الله أكابر

(١)

(٢) بعایت الہی و باقبال روز افزون
 (٣) شاہنشاہی منک قزاق خان اوزبک لم
 (٤) قول نامہ نوشتم که رعایا و برایا و سکنه و متوطنہ
 (٥) پر گنہ برودا (٩) پر گنہ سینور و
 (٦) سرکار ناد وست کہ بجا گیر پنده درگاہ اسست هر کہ زمین
 (٧) بندجر د رآرد و زراعت سال اول یک مسکمودی
 (٨) سال دویم دو مسکمودی سال سیوم چار مسکمودی
 (٩) مخصوص تقاوی (٩)
 (١٠) قرض حسن مسکمودی
 (١١)
 (١٢) بست و پنج مسکمودی چون (عاش ٩)
 (١٣) مذکور بود سست و پر رعایا نقصان
 (١٤) می شد تا پر آن
 (١٥) بود معنایم نمودیم این
 (١٦) خدا و بادشاه ظل الله
 (١٧) بربن نهیج عمل نمایم
 (١٨) این
 (١٩) فی التاریخ نوز دهم شهر ربیع الشانی
 (٢٠) سنه هزار و پنجاه و چهار

TRANSLATION ¹

“GOD IS GREAT !

By the grace of God and the ever-increasing good-fortune of the Emperor, I Qazzāq Khān Uzbak write this deed so that the people and inhabitants, and residents and dwellers of Pargana Baroda, Pargana Sinor and Sarkār Nandot, which are the *jāgīr* of this humble servant of the court, should know that whoever would plough and cultivate the *banjar* (barren) land in the first year one *Mahmūdī* (silver coin), in the second year two *Mahmūdīs*, in the third year four *Mahmūdīs* as rent *taqāvi* (relief advance) loan without interest *Mahmūdī* twenty-five *Mahmūdīs* As aforesaid was a *matāsh* (land

1. The transcript and the translation of the Persian inscription have been very kindly supplied by Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad (Deccan), to whom I am highly indebted.

grant for maintenance) and the tenants suffered on account (of the regulations) I reconsidered the matter and by the grace of God and the bounty of the King, the shadow of God, I am disposed to act as follows.....this.....on the 19th of Rabi 'II, 1045 A. H. (Tuesday, 22nd September 1635 A. D.)".

As to the contents of this inscription, Qazzāq Khān must be identified with the hymonymous governor of Dabhoi who was in charge of the *tālukā* about the time specified in the record. Sayyad Muhammad Shāh might have been a *mutwalli* of the mausoleum. The Mahmūdi coins¹ of the record might possibly be the silver coins of Mahmūd Begadā or those struck by his son Muzaffari"

The lower inscription is not very clear but its contents are practically similar to that of the upper one. The date is given both in the *Hijrī* and the *Vikrama* era. The text seems to read as follows :—

Line 1 श्रीदीवानं प्र(पर)गणे डभोई जागीर खान श्री
 „ 2 कजाकखानं सीणोर प्र(पर)गणे तथा सरकार नांदो-
 „ 3 द आदी(दे)स त(दीथा) मूजारिजा नमा(वा) व मुहां(ह)म-
 „ 4 दशाह.....बंजर पेहेल बरस महमूदी रकम.....
 „ 5 (मा) दूली बरस.....दीनी
 „ 6 पालीए तगावी मुलगी फसलमा देणी जोए (इए) वर
 „ 7 स नो जो स छि ज (फ)लयी.....तैमाडी माही(दी)
 „ 8 णपडे अतयार ? आणी.....तरेव साथे तेर.....सरे
 „ 9 लरवेल सांती सन १०५४ संवत् १७०१ वर्षे

The wording not being clear no connected translation of it is possible yet the text as far as it is deciphered may be rendered thus :—

"Qazzāq Khān the Dewan of paragañā Dabhoi and Jāgīdar of paragañā Sinor and Sarkar Nāndod at the instance of the Muzariā Nawāb Muhammad Shāh.....waste land.....first year. Mahmūdi coins ... second yeargiven....should be protected? Taqāvī and Mulgi crops should be giventhe produce in the year.....with that the dues of three months will have to be paid if not ready.....with that.....Rabi 'u' s-sāni San 1054. Vikrama year 1701."

1. I am indebted to Mr. S. H. Hodivala, Retd. Principal of the Bahāuddin College, Junagadh, for this information. He has supplied me with the following note:—

"As regards the Mahmūdi, it was a silver coin first struck by Mahmūd Begadā of Champaner and Girnar fame. His coin weighed about 88 grains. His son Muzaffar struck a heavier type weighing about 110 grains, and there is a third variety heavier still of about 112 grs. All these types were called Mahmūdis and the heaviest were sometimes denominated Changizi Mahmūdis. As the silver was of low matter they exchanged for about 2/5th to a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Akbari Rupee. As regards Qazzaq Khān his name is registered as a commander of 2,000 Zat Sawar in the *Badshahnāma* of Ahdul Hamid, Lahore, a contemporary chronicle of the first twenty years of the reign of Shah Jehan which was compiled in 1648 A. C. (Vol. II p. 726, 1, 4). It appears from other entries in the same work that he was appointed Foujdār of Baroda on 28 Jumadi II, 1052 A. H. (*Ibid.* II, p. 309, 1, 5 from foot)."

2. The nasal is superfluous here as well as in several other words of the text.

What Dabhoi or Darbhavati was at the time of Varāhamihira we have no means to ascertain, nor do we possess any information as to its shape or the buildings which stood here

Description of monuments. about the time of Jayasimha Siddharāja, i. e., in the

twelfth century of the Christian era. The *prāśasti* of Someśvara was written when Viśaladeva was alive. The prayer for his victory which it contains is addressed to him direct as if he were sitting in front of the poet. The demonstrative pronoun एषः is quite significant “कल्पायुतं जयतु वीसल्लदेव एषः”:-May this Viśaladeva be victorious for ever (lit. myriad of *Kalpa*). The panegyric would further tell us that the temple of Vaidyanātha was constructed by the architect (*Sūtradhāra*) Devāditya in his time. Which this temple of Vaidyanātha was we cannot say for certain, but the name of this stone mason (*Sthāpati* or *Sūtradhāra*) and his father is incised on the main balcony window of the shrine now going by the name of Kālikā-mātā, and would lead to the surmise that it was the very sanctuary which Devāditya built during the reign of Viśaladeva. The image of Kālikā might have been installed when that temple was desecrated or dismantled. I am however tempted to think that this was the residential portion and the temple of Vaidyanātha lay on the south side. The remains of that sanctuary have been conserved now as shown below.

The identification of these names, that is, the name of the *Sūtradhāra* and of his father supplies us with a decisive evidence on the question of the date and of the builder of the whole structure. I am glad I was led to discover them while studying the sculptures on the building. That the architect engraved his and his father's name is quite natural in such cases. The structure is a masterpiece of his skill and he must have been proud of it. That was why he engraved the names in the inscription (Plate V) which I reproduce below :-

सूत्र आहृण.....सूत्र देवादित्य

Here the name of the father appears as Āhlaṇa while in the *prāśasti* it figures as *Ahlādana*. But this discrepancy need not hamper the identification, for Ahlaṇa is only the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *Āhlādāna*, meaning gladdener. Devāditya and his ancestors are described in vv. 111 and 112 of the *prāśasti* of Someśvara which need not be repeated here. These verses would connect the mason with the builders of the Sun temple of Mūlasthāna or Multān in the Punjab which is even now famous for its shrine of Sūrya. The accounts given in the *Vastupālacharita* and the *Kirtikaumudi* which I have quoted above would indicate that several structures were built during the reign of Viradhavala and on this evidence it can be averred that Dabhoi was a citadel during the early part of the thirteenth century after Christ. They show that the predatory tribes headed by Ghūghula of Godhrā were a source of constant terror to the residents of Dabhoi and to put a stop to their inroads a rampart was run round the town by Tejahpāla under the orders of Viradhavala, the father of Viśaladeva. According to the account supplied by Jinaharshagāṇi in his *Vastupālacharita*, the rampart, the gates and the temple of Vaidyanātha were built in the time of Viradhavala. But Someśvara seems to be more trustworthy. In either case the date of the citadel of Dabhoi and its magnificent structures would be the middle of the thirteenth century after Christ. The date



Names engraved on the inner main balcony of the Kālikā-mātā temple.

१३४४ साल का दाना
गढ़द्याची अंप.

Inscription dated Samvat 1344 with the *Gadhdyāchī* āmp.

given in the *prāśasti* would be supported by the inscription on the Mahudī gate (Plate VI) which belongs to the Vikrama year 1344 and is later by thirty-three years only. This date belongs to the reign of Sāraṅgadeva as shown by the following table :—

Vīradhavala (died 1242 A. D.)
 Visaladeva (1243 to 1261 A. D.).
 Arjunadeva (1261 to 1274 A. D.).
 Sāraṅgadeva (1274 to 1296).
 Karṇa (Ghelo) (1296 to 1300).

It however does not affect the date I have fixed for the construction of the Hīrā Gate or of the Mahudī and other gates, for it refers to the repairs done by some masons. That Dabhoi was subjected to depredations by the Musalmāns during those days we all know. This record gives the names of the masons who were, apparently, engaged in building or reconstructing the gate. The text is too corrupt to give a connected sense. The date is clear and reads:—

Sainvat 1344 Jyeshṭha Vadi 4 Su(S'u)kre

The epithet *selāṭa* is also distinct and would show that the proper names following it designate the stone masons who repaired the gate. The name of *Vaṭa[pa]dra* (pura), i. e., Baroda, also seems to be there. The curious representation of a donkey and a woman, called *gadhedyāčī āṇ* in Marathi, often found in late medieval Hindu inscriptions is engraved below this record also, as seen on the facsimile given in Plate VI. It is meant to be an imprecation on the foe who would think of demolishing the structure.

As has been remarked above Dabhoi was a citadel or fortified town in the thirteenth century. Now its fortifications have mostly been dismantled and the material of which they were built has been largely used for ballast or other similar purposes. Except for the principal gates with their adjuncts, a bastion and some walling here and there together with the basement upto a height of about eight feet where the lozenge shaped ornament so typical of medieval Gujarāt architecture starts, the whole of the enclosure or fortifying wall has been removed. The town is not a square. According to Burgess and Cousens, two contiguous sides are 800 yards each and the other two about a thousand yards each. The city has four entrances, one on each cardinal point, where the large gateways are standing even now. They are called Hīrā Gate, Barodā Gate, Chāndod or Nāndod Gate and Champāner, Mori or Mahudī Gate, respectively, and stand in the east, west, south and north sides of the town. The Hīrā Gate seems to have been the chief gate. All these gates are double entrances. The one which is an adjunct to the Hīrā Gate is a plain structure and is known as Barhānpuri or Barhānpurā after the town of Barhānpur which it faces. Similarly, the other outer gates are named after the principal towns which they face according to the usual practice of naming a gateway after the principal city that stands in the opposite direction.

The Barhānpuri Gate was in a very parlous condition but has now been repaired. Between it and the Hīrā Gate, Bhangis resided and the result was that the locality became insanitary. But now it has been cleared and

levelled and it is being turned into a lawn or recreation ground. If the adjoining tank were cleaned, the steps repaired and the whole locality tidied up, the attractiveness of the monument would be increased immensely and it would become an ideal place for picnics and other social amenities.

The chief gate goes by the name of Hirā. Reasons for this designation are obscure. Tradition says it was named after the master-mason called Hirā who, instead of getting any prize for his good work, was put in prison for fear of building a similar structure elsewhere! The apperture marking the cell where he was immured and through which food was served to him is still pointed out in the northern outer wall of the gate. The name cannot be derived from Hirā meaning diamond. That it is a jewel (Hirā) of gates will not be a very satisfactory explanation either. To connect it with Hirā, an epithet of Siva, would not be unreasonable especially when the important temple of Vaidyanātha-Siva stood close to it. But it would be pedantic. The southern side is mostly in ruins, as also the Siva shrine which stood there. In all probability the remains of the Siva shrine we see here represent the very sanctuary which has been mentioned in the Somesvara *prāstasti* and other works under the name of Vaidyanātha, the divine lord of physicians. Siva as the principal physician is mentioned even in the *Vedas*. Says the *Rigveda* (II. 33 V. 4):—

मा त्वा रुद्र चुक्षुधामा नमोभिर्मा दुष्कुर्ती वृषभ मा सहृती ।

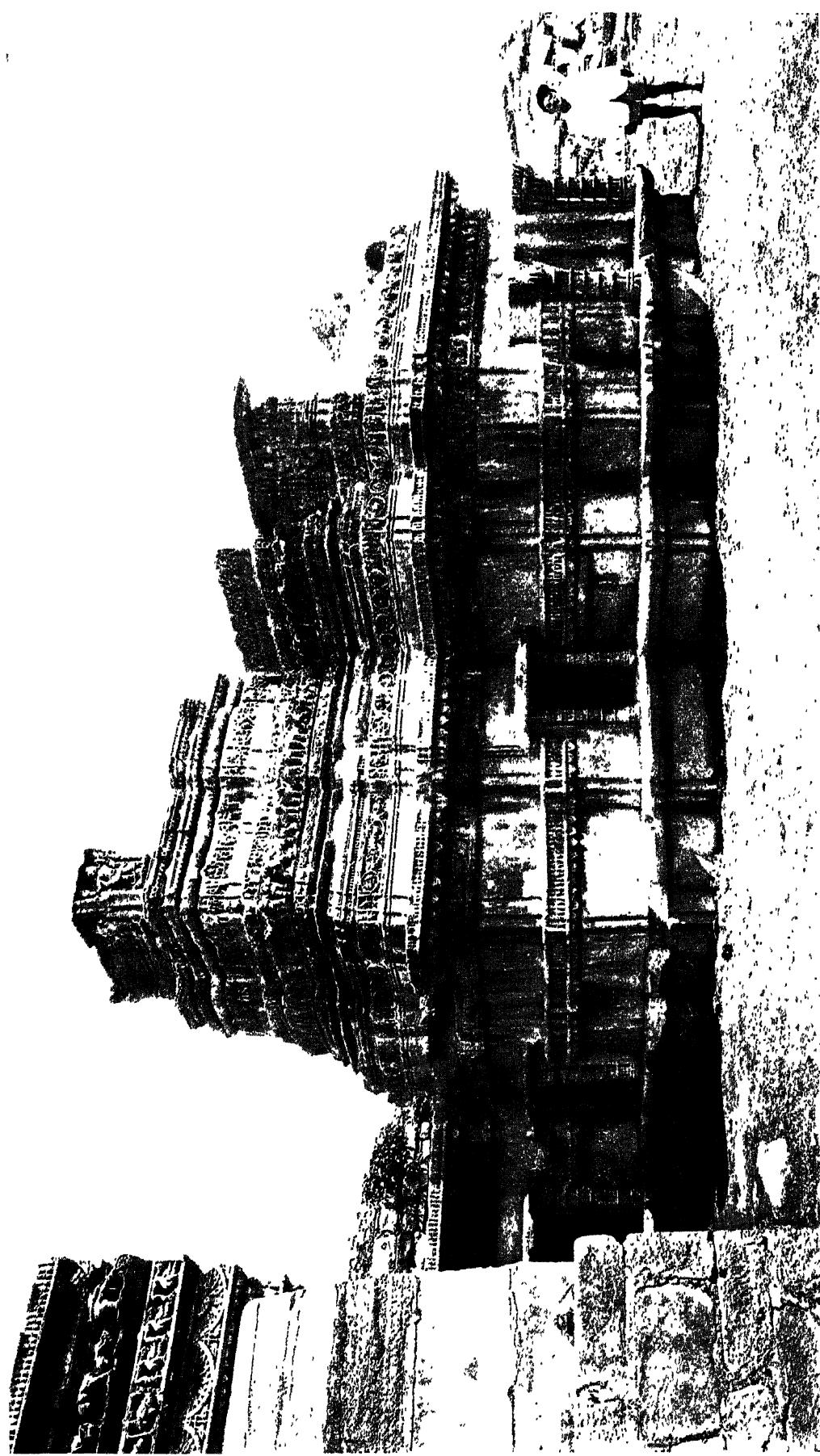
उत्त्रा वीरां अर्पय भेषजेभिर्मैषकम् त्वा भिषजां शृणोमि ॥

‘May we not anger you with our obeisances, O Rudra! May not a bad praise (or) a joint invocation (*displease you*). Heal our heroes by your medicines. I hear you are the best of physicians.’

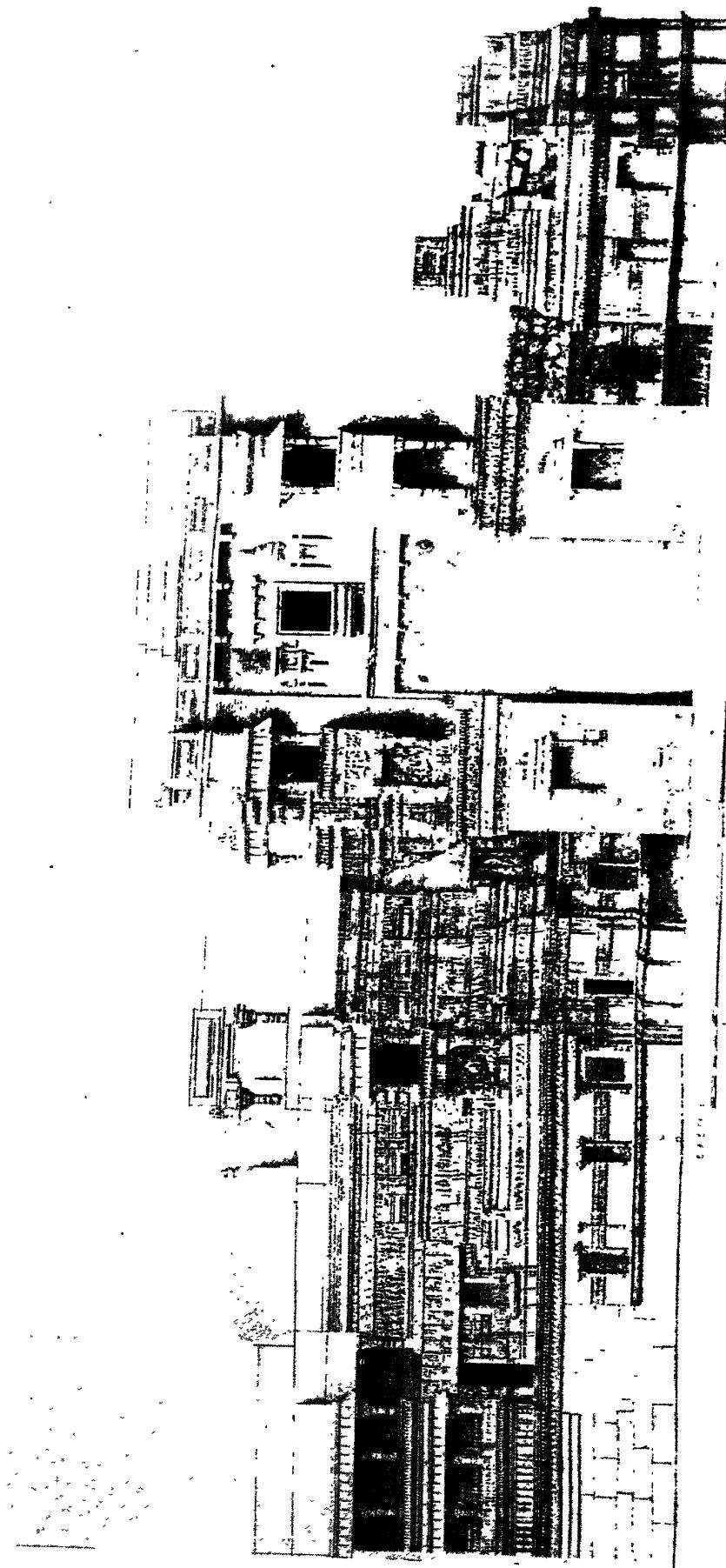
This shrine has now been conserved. Plate VII gives an idea of its present condition.

The Barodā Gate is now the best preserved and therefore most imposing. The Hirā Gate has suffered most and has undergone material alterations at the hands of the Musalmān occupants. This gateway is about 37 feet deep. Originally there were six pilasters on each side of it. Three of them supported the corbelled brackets of the roof. The middle pair of these pilasters, about $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart, accommodated the massive doors when flung open. Now the original outer pair has been removed and a large Saracenic arch¹ is inserted in the front. The present doors are attached to the jambs of this arch. The front side of the gate has been rebuilt by the Musalmāns who used old material in reconstructing it. A balcony window was also inserted above the said arch. This is shown by plate VIII. The inner side has not been much destroyed; though the central portion has been largely renewed and a low archway inserted; an

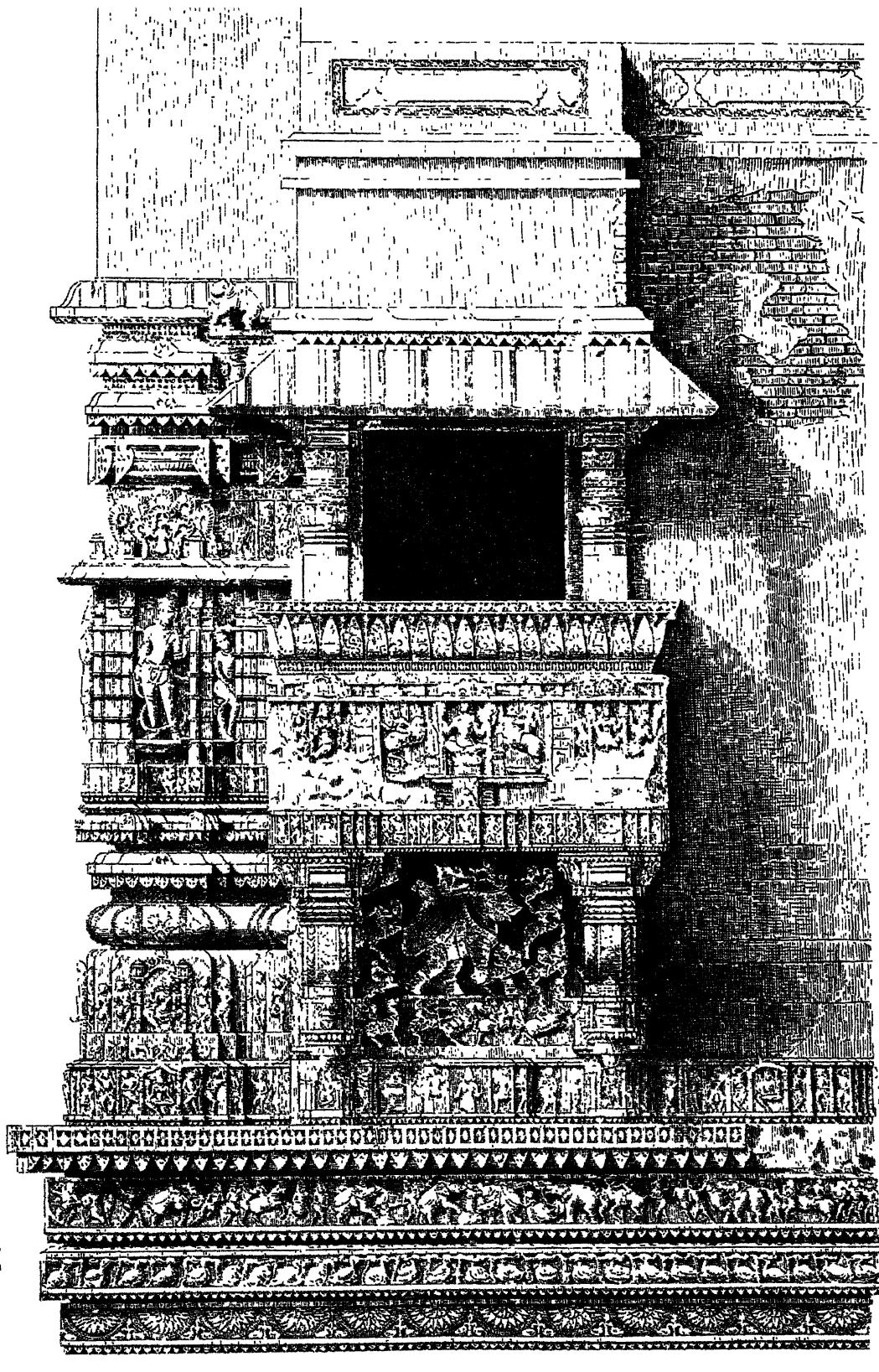
1. The belief held by Fergusson and those who followed his views that the construction of the arch was not known to ancient Hindus and was introduced in India by the Musalmāns is erroneous; for arches made by the Hindus long before the advent of Islām in India have been found. This belief has rightly been controverted by E. B. Havell (*Indian Architecture*, pp. 59 ff. etc.).



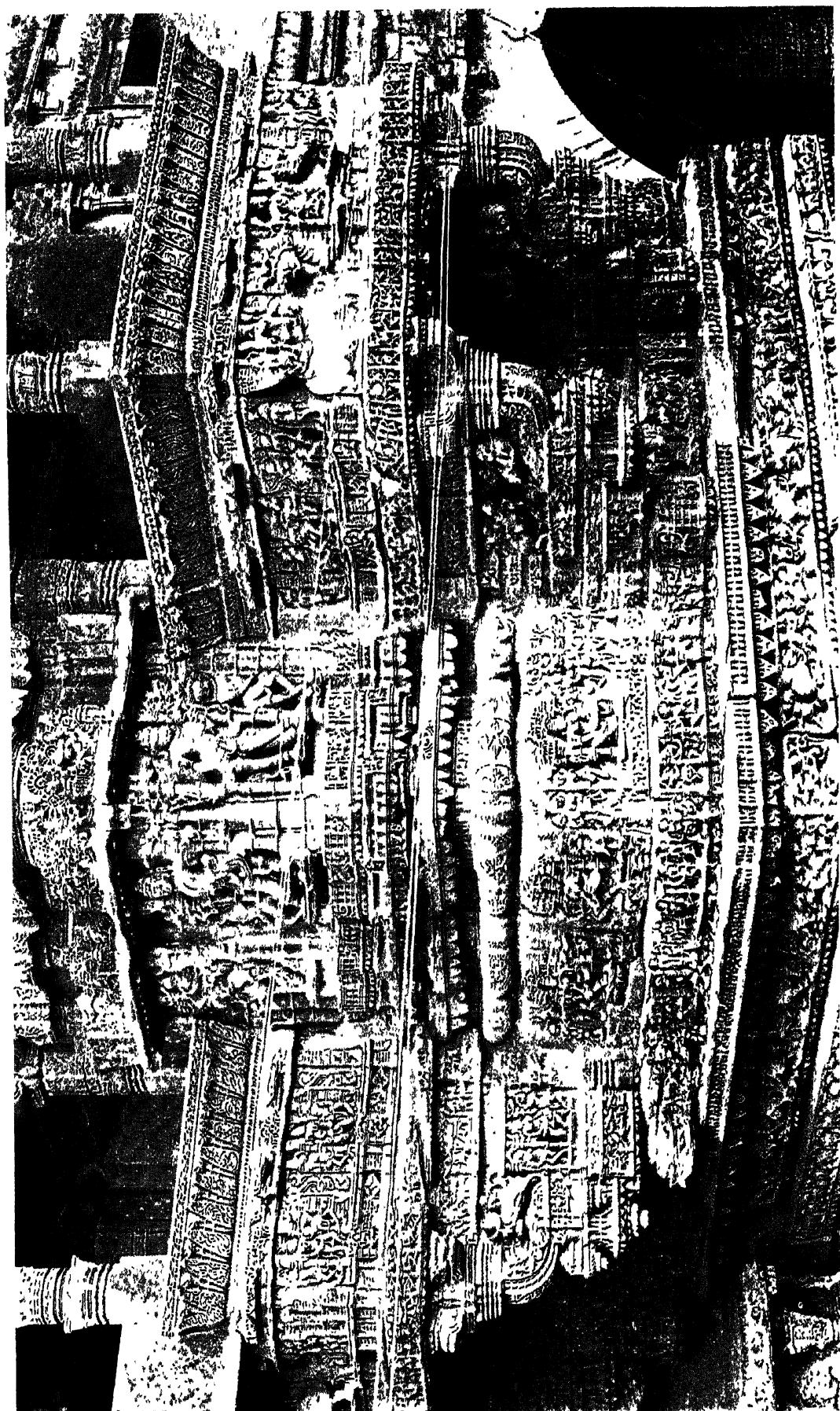
Vaidyanātha temple after conservation.



Hira Gate with its adjuncts, inner view.



Balcony window in the Kālikā-mātā temple.



Side balconies of the Hirā Gate.

apartment has also been provided for a defence guard. The sides appear to be original structures, each containing a highly sculptured overhanging balcony. One of these seems to have been entirely rebuilt, the other one, on the north side, is but little altered. The inner side of the gate with its adjuncts is represented on Plate VIII.

The construction of the gateway, as has been remarked by Burgess and Cousens, is wooden in character. "It is a framework mortised and tenoned together, exerting bending and tensile strains, for which stone is but ill adapted. Consequently when one part gives way the whole generally follows by the snapping of the brittle stone. In the curved brackets there is but a very small section of the material which passes from the top to the bottom wholly within the bracket, so that most of the weight upon it produces a shearing force tending to break it off. The shearing rather than the crushing resistance of the stone is thus brought into play. In wood work this would be perfectly legitimate, and throughout Gujarāt is found abundance of wood work, both old and new, with just such bracketing and it is evident that the construction of these gateways was actually copied in stone from similar structures in wood then existing."

The Hirā Gate must have been profusely and minutely carved. But this carving is now to be seen only on the Kālikā-mātā temple side, and on the extant part of the Vaidyanātha shrine. Excellence of detail can be easily achieved in the case of wood work, or when the stone used is very soft. The material of these structures, however, is hard, and would yield only to great skill in wielding the chisel; the deftness of the old *śilpis* of Gujarāt is thus seen to be very remarkable. The gate proper, i. e. the entrance, has hardly any carving left. The southern side where the Vaidyanātha temple stood is practically gone excepting a small portion of the shrine which has now been conserved. See Plate VII. The northern side, however, is in a much better condition and the sculptures carved on it will amply repay close study. The carving shows four string courses of different patterns. One of them, which is at the top, at once catches the eye of the spectator. The projecting frieze has three principal members; the lower one is carved with half rosettes, the second with *chakwas*, and the third with a procession of elephants, men, camels, etc. There is a thin cornice above this string course. The portion above it is more richly carved, the surface being literally overlaid with ornaments. Four balcony windows spring out of this surface resting on richly carved brackets and provided with projecting and sloping roofs as shown in the accompanying Plates VIII, IX and X. Between the brackets supporting the sill of the window there is carved in bold relief an elephant with his rider surrounded by horsemen. Possibly the figure riding the elephant represents the very Visaladeva who, as the story goes, was born here, or perhaps Viradhabala himself, in whose reign the citadel or the gate was constructed as has been stated above. The figures engraved on the brackets and the sides represent some of the divinities of the Hindu pantheon.

The temple of Kālikā has undergone substantial repairs, but the exterior still retains some of the original striking features as seen in Plate XI. It has several mouldings and is profusely ornamented with sculptures so typical of

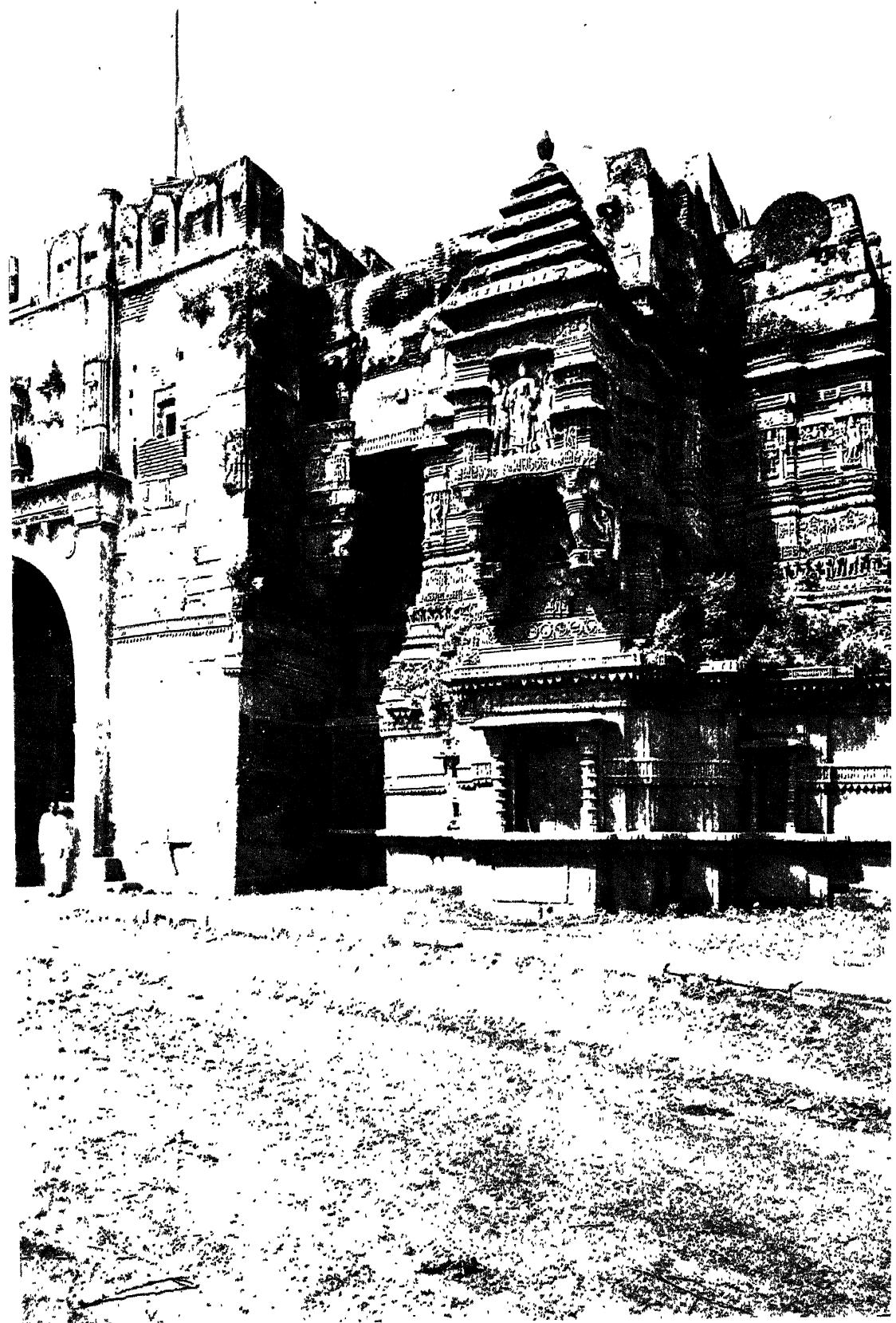
the rich style of Gujarāt of the thirteenth century. The temple has three storeys, the shrine proper being on the first floor. It is now reached by a flight of steps on the inner or city side. But these steps are evidently a later addition. The original entrance was probably from the stairs leading to the upper storey of the gateway. A large gate with old wooden doors, which is still preserved, marks the passage. It is now kept bolted from within but is opened on festive occasions. The external side of this shrine is represented by Plate XI.

Let us now turn to the sculptures themselves. We find that the whole exterior is full of them. Bands of mouldings and bas-reliefs cover the outer walls from the basement to the summit with figures in niches at every turn. High up on this wall looking to the town we find the legend of समुद्रमन्त्रण (churning of the ocean) carved skillfully in bas-relief. See Plate XII. Here the ocean is symbolised by a water pot. Above the shoulders of the three churners on one side are three of the objects that appeared out of the ocean during the churning, namely, Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and beauty, Airāvata, the elephant considered to be the prototype of the elephant race, and Uchchailiṣṭravas or the horse regarded as the prototype and king of horses. Lakshmi went to Vishṇu as his share and the elephant and the horse to Indra. Further on, near Siva, is Dhanyantari, the physician of the gods, who was also churned out. His right hand is broken but probably held the pot of ambrosia or *amṛita* the appearance of which created great commotion among the gods and the demons, which was suppressed only by the cleverness of Vishṇu. Next to him stands Viśvakarmā. These names are engraved below the figures, which is an interesting feature of the sculpture. Siva seated with his bull Nandi is called Vaidyanātha as we read in the inscription represented in the copy given in the upper line of Plate V. The names of the masons or *sūtradhāras* have already been noticed. The figure of Pārvatī is marked by the *linga* and Gaṇapati—the label underneath seems to read Aparṇā. Other names are worn out. The fourteen jewels churned out are enumerated in the following verse of the popular *maṅgalāśṭaka* :—

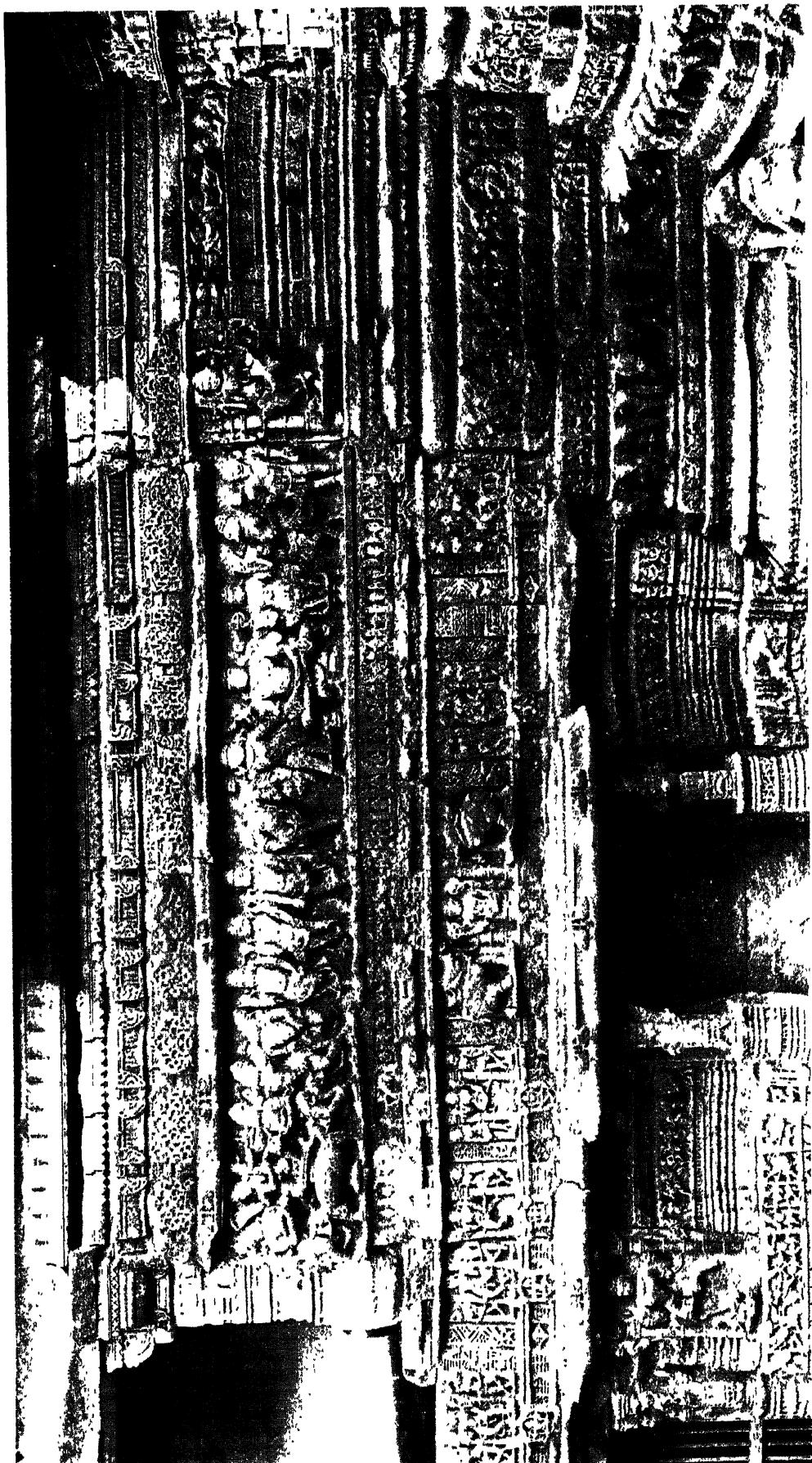
लक्ष्मीः कौस्तुभपारिजातकसुरा धन्वन्तरिश्चन्द्रमा
गावः कामदुधाः सुरेश्वरगजो रभादिवेवांगनाः।
अश्वः सप्तमुखो विष्णु हरिधनुः शंखोमूतं चांबुधेः
रत्नानीह चतुर्दश प्रतिदिनं कुर्याः सदा मंगलम्॥

The legend is connected with the *Kūrma* or Tortoise Incarnation of Vishṇu which he assumed in order to help to recover some *ratnas* (jewels or valuable things) that had been lost in the deluge. Vishṇu placed himself in the form of a tortoise at the bottom of the sea of milk (*Kshiroda*) and made his back the base or pivot of the mountain Mandara. For a churning rope the gods and demons turned or twisted the great serpent Vāsuki round the mountain; they divided themselves into two parties, and each took an end of the snake and thus churned the sea until the *ratnas* were recovered. The gods were cunning enough to put the demons on the side of the mouth of Vāsuki whose poisonous hissings burnt all that they touched. The jewels churned out and enumerated in the verse quoted above are:—

1. Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and beauty, 2. Kaustubha, a jewel, 3. Pārijāta, a celestial tree, 4. Surā, wine, 5. Dhanyantari,



Kalikā-mātā temple, outer side from east.



Churning of the Milk-ocean.

the physician of gods, 6. Chandra, the moon, 7. Surabhi, the cow of plenty, 8. Airāvata, the celestial elephant, 9. Rambhā, a nymph and pattern of beauty, 10. Uchchaihśravas, the celestial horse, 11. Hālāhala, poison, 12. Dhanus, a bow, 13. Saṅkha, the conch of victory, 14. and Amṛita, the elixir of life.

The outer wall, i. e., the wall looking to the Barhāṇpurā Gate, bears the legend connected with the death of king Parīkshit, the son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Arjuna the great Pāṇḍava hero. Plate XIII. This legend occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and in some of the *Purāṇas* as well. The advent of Kali or the Iron Age is believed to have commenced with the death of Parīkshit. His name is engraved below the figure meant to represent him in the scene and makes the identification easy and certain. The myth may be abridged as follows—

At the death of Parīkshit from snake-bite his son Janamejaya out of revenge resolved to exterminate the whole serpent race and instituted सर्वथङ्ग in which all the serpents were burnt except Takshaka who was saved by the sage Āstīka. In consequence of this help serpents will not, so goes the story, injure anybody who pronounces the name of the sage—

सर्वापसर्वं भद्रं ते लोकानुग्रहकारकं ।
जनमेजयस्य यज्ञान्ते आस्तीकवचनं स्मर ॥

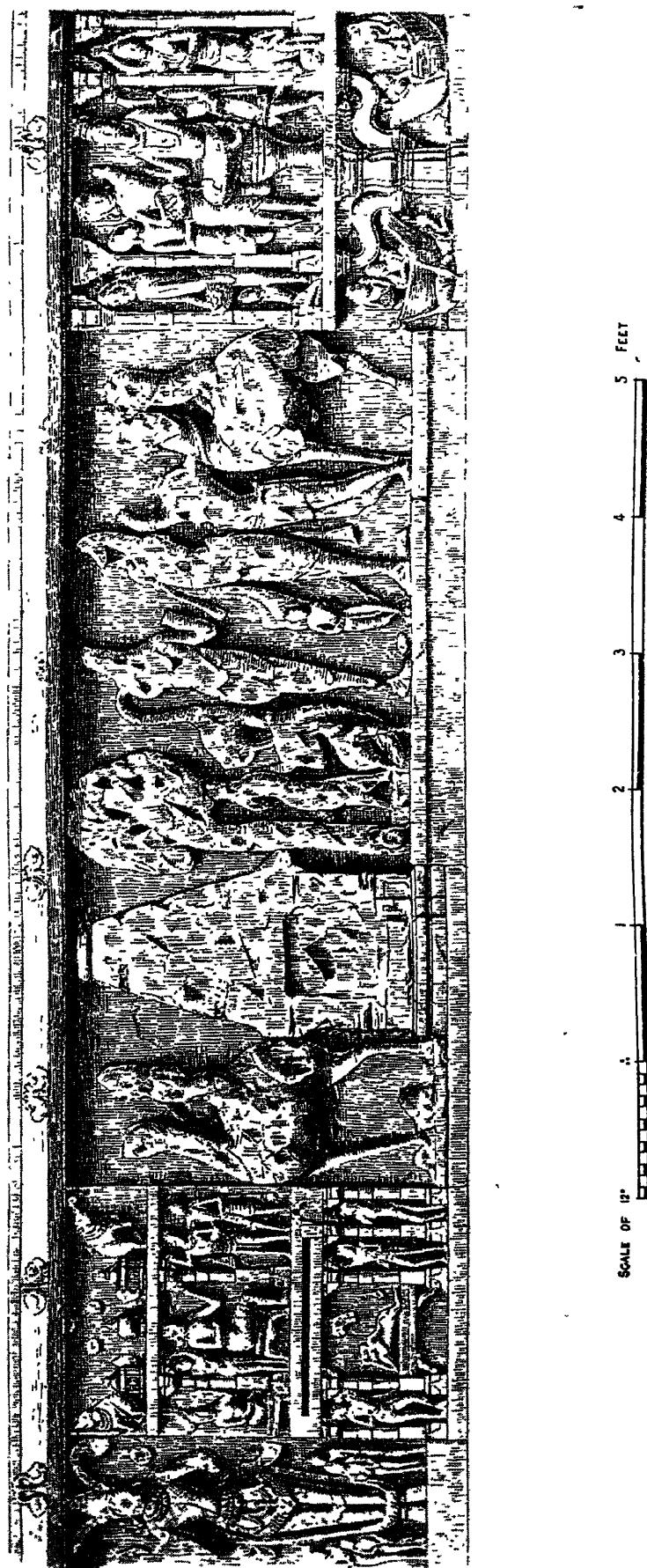
Ā serpent is reminded of the word given to Āstīka at the sacrifice of the serpents to leave persons unharmed if they remember the sage. The story says that Parīkshit went out hunting in a forest and wounded a deer which ran away. He followed the wounded animal but could not overtake it. During the pursuit he came across a Brāhmaṇa and asked him if he has seen the deer. The Brāhmaṇa was under a vow of silence and did not reply. Thereupon Parīkshit, being enraged at his insolence, lifted a dead snake lying nearby with the end of his bow and put it round the neck of the Brāhmaṇa and went away not knowing that he had insulted a great seer. Śringī, the son of this Rishi, heard of the incident from his playmates who taunted him saying, "You are so and so, but your father is wearing a dead snake round his neck". Thereupon he, hot-tempered as he was, cursed the evil-doer to the effect that he would be bitten to death by Takshaka within seven days for putting the carcass of a serpent round his sire's head and thus insulting him. When the father came to know of this he felt very sorry for he knew that Parīkshit had done what he did in ignorance. But he could not counteract the curse which was pronounced in solemnity and with due ritual. The *sāpa* being irrevocable he warned Parīkshit to be careful and to do some *pūṇya* before he died, for die he must in accordance with the curse uttered by his angry son. Parīkshit felt very sorry for his act which had led him to insult a holy man, though unknowingly. He and his ministers tried to find a way out of this evil, and a room was built in the midst of a lake resting on one pillar. Parīkshit took shelter in this room where antidotes were kept ready and Brāhmaṇas well-versed in charms meant for counteracting serpents' bites were brought to render help to the king if needed. No one else was allowed to come into this room. A certain Brāhmaṇa named Kaśyapa came to know of the fate in store for the king and being in possession of the knowledge of curing serpent bites, started out to save him. On his way he was met by Takshaka disguised as

an old Brāhmaṇa. When questioned as to the object of his journey he disclosed it to Takshaka. Thereupon Takshaka, in order to test his supernatural power, burnt up a tree with his poison, after revealing himself, and asked him to revive it. Then Kaśyapa collected the ashes and brought the tree back to life. Takshaka discovering that his intention would be frustrated by this Brāhmaṇa dissuaded the latter from proceeding to the doomed king by presenting him with enormous wealth, and managed to send him back. To accomplish his object he adopted the device of sending serpents disguised as Brāhmaṇas with presents of fruits to Parīkṣit. Finding that the king accepted the presents Takshaka himself went in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa and offered fruits to the credulous king who, owing to his predilection for choice fruits, began to eat them. Whilst so doing he noticed a red worm with black shining eyes and put it on his neck laughing and saying let it be Takshaka and let him now bite him. This was on the seventh day at the time of sunset. Parīkṣit thought that the time for the curse to take effect was almost gone and no Takshaka had appeared so far. No sooner had he said these words than Takshaka assumed his own form and bit him to death and then disappeared after fulfilling his mission. In the sculpture under notice, Plate XIII, we see the tree which was reduced to ashes by Takshaka but revived by Kaśyapa, with a serpent coiled at its foot. On one side Parīkṣit is shown sitting in his room in the lake built upon a single pillar. The serpents disguised as Brāhmaṇas are presenting fruits to him. They are represented as having come from the shore in boats which are shown below. The whole legend is sculptured with great skill and vigour. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* was recited to Parīkṣit during these seven days. Even nowadays orthodox Hindus consider it to be a great meritorious act to hear and recite the *Purāṇa* in a week's time without break, and this recitation is called *Saptāha*.

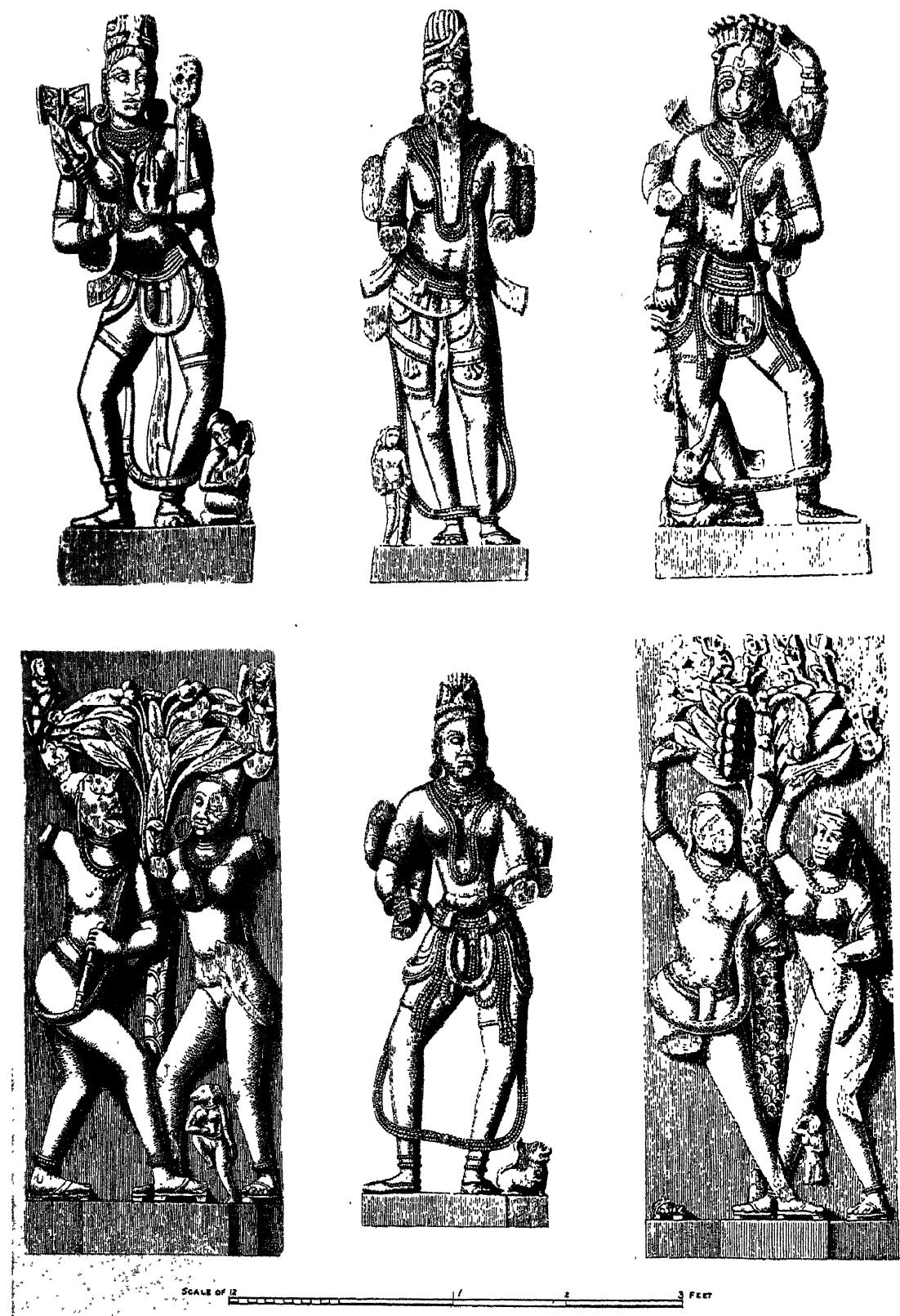
The other figure sculpture is distributed over the walls of the building in niches as single figures, in pairs, or in groups. See Plates IX-XII. In the middle of the group on the face of the overhanging closed balcony (Plate XI), the inside of which forms the shrine, there stands a many-armed female figure, which, from the trident and club besides her, may be taken to be Pārvati. She is flanked by attendants or *chowri*-bearers.

The other figure sculpture is distributed over the walls of the Hīrā Gate, either in niches, panels or otherwise. The southern side of this gate is destroyed excepting a portion of the Vaidyanātha temple. An idea of the sculpture and carving on the city side of this portion can be formed from Plate VII. The northern side of the gate going by the name of Kālikā-mātā temple is more or less intact and bears on both the faces of the walls profuse carving in high and low relief showing great artistic skill. The sculpture is distributed in single figures, in pairs or in groups of three or more figures. The Plates numbered IX to XIVb will give an idea of their excellent workmanship. The sculptor lavished his special care on the balcony windows, open as well as closed, and on their four sides including offsets. Avoiding minute descriptions, a few of the particularly noteworthy sculptures might be detailed here including the six figures drawn by Burgess and Cousens in Plate XIV of their *Antiquities of Dabhoi*, which have been reproduced in Plates XIV, XIVa, and XIVb of the present work. It is to be

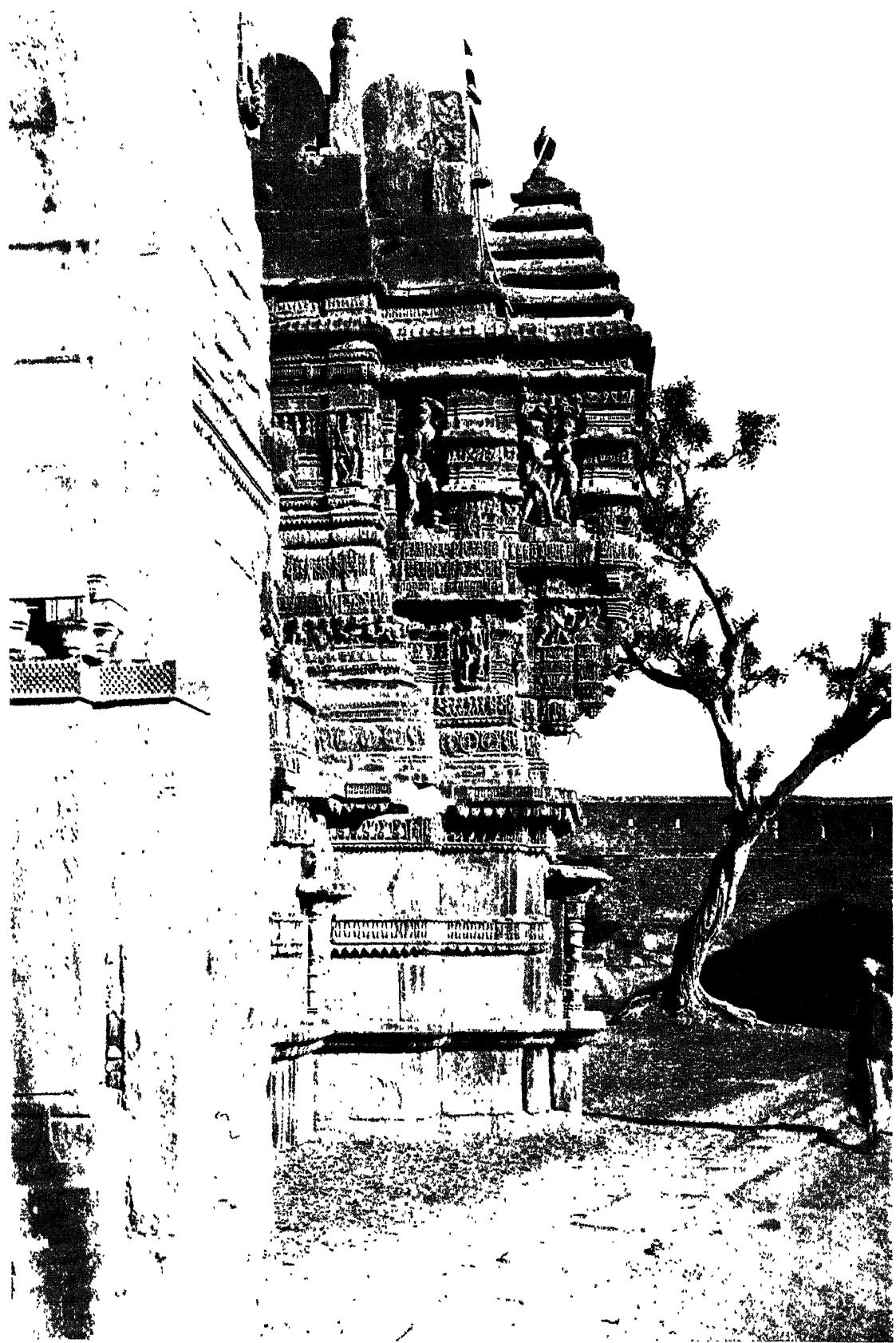
Plate XIII.



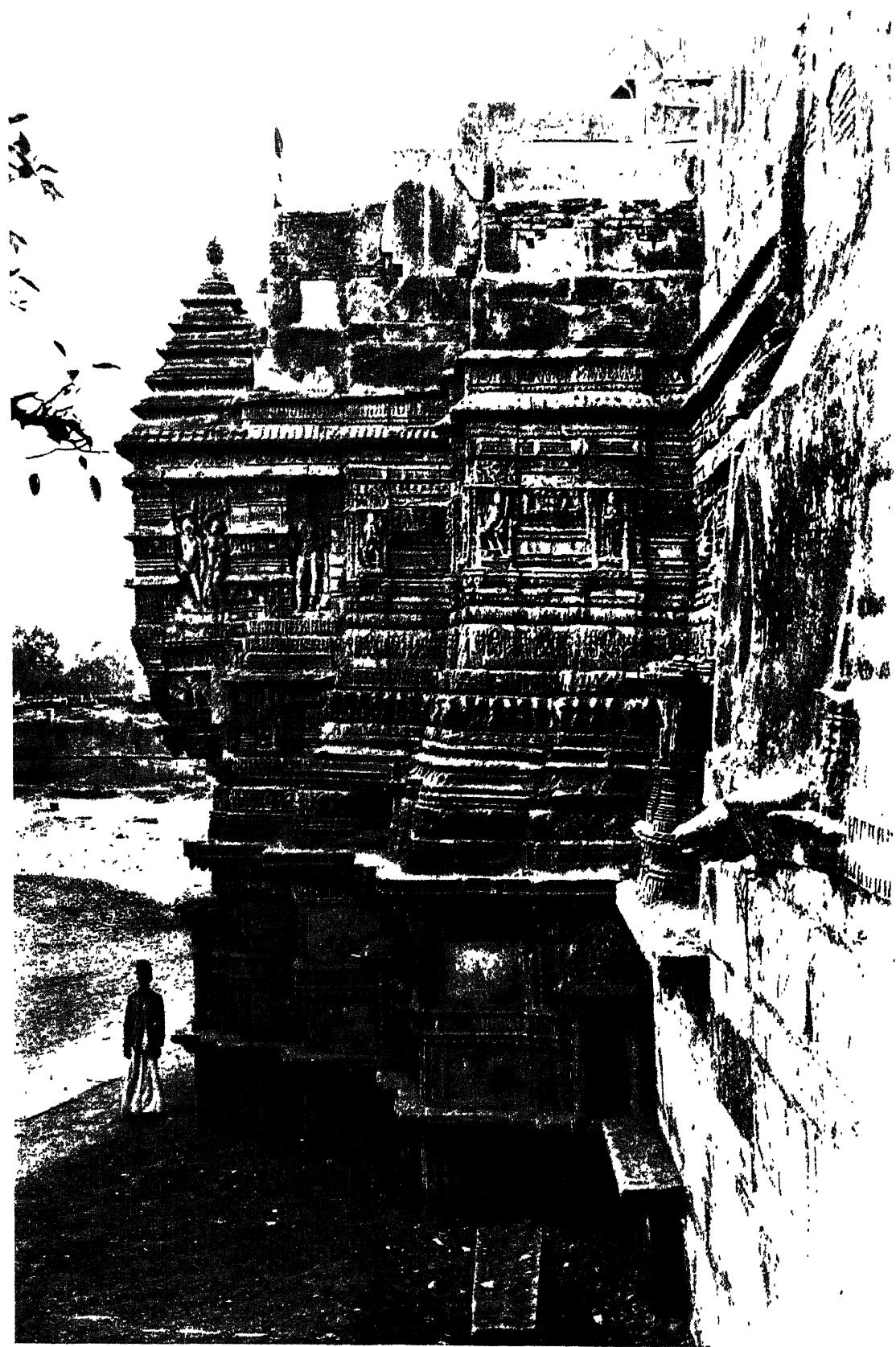
Legend of Parikshit.



Sculptures on the outer side of the Kālikā-mātā temple.



Kālikā-mātā temple, outer face, left side.



Kālikā-mātā temple, outer face, right side.

regretted that the hands of most of these figures are mutilated and the respective cognizances, so very essential for identification, are not discernible. Consequently, their identity remains unascertained. In the group of the three standing figures on the face of the overhanging closed balcony (Plate XI), the inner side of which forms the shrine of Kālikā-mātā, the central image with six arms, now broken, seems to be the representation of Durgā or Pārvatī. The symbols of *trisūla* or trident and club are recognizable. The flanking figures are of the attendant *Chowri*-bearers. The male figure with a long beard appears to be Brahmā. He is shown in the middle of the two female figures on the upper row in Plate XIV but is actually sculptured to our right on the open balcony window of the inner or city side of the Kālikā-mātā temple. Of the two female figures shown on the upper corners of Plate XIV the one towards the right must be Nārasimhī, the *S'akti* or counterpart of Narasiṁha, the Man-Lion Incarnation of Vishnu. The leonine face is quite clear, though the crocodile, however conventional, carved near her right leg is the symbol of Gaṅgā. The other image is probably a form of Durgā or Pārvatī; the symbols of *damaru* or drum and *Khatvāṅga* (staff with a skull at the top) are distinct. The former is sculptured on one of the offsets of the miniature temple above the balcony window on the outer side of the Kālikā-mātā shrine as seen in Plate XIVa. The latter is sculptured on the left side of the open balcony window on the inner or city side of the Kālikā-mātā shrine, partly visible on the extreme right side of Plate XII. The figure, which is drawn below that of Brahmā but is actually carved on the right side of the miniature shrine seen in Plate XIVb, seems to be six-armed and has a symbol of a *simha* or lion shown on the left side. She must be some form of the *Simha-vāhini* Durgā. But it is the representation of a male and a female conspicuously drawn under a tree on each of the two sides of the miniature shrine on the outer face of the Kālikā-mātā temple that calls for special notice. We see these figures on the two lower corners of Plate XIV, but their exact position is seen in Plates XIVa and XIVb. Both these pairs attract the attention of visitors and require some explanation. Many people would take them to be the representation of Adam and Eve in Paradise. The late Mr. Forbes also held the same view.¹ Such an identification does not require any special reasons to refute it. First of all the representation of a purely Christian myth in Hindu sculpture will be out of place. Secondly, these figures are decorated with ornaments, have sandals, and are draped also. This is not the case in the representations of Adam and Eve. A fruit tree is there, no doubt, but that does not matter much. Nor does the fact that one is a male and the other, a female. Besides, the attitude or the pose of these figures is a fighting one. The possibility seems to be that they are connected with the cult of Durgā, and, if a conjecture could be made, represent Durgā herself at the time of killing the demon king *S'umbha* and his brother *Nis'umbha* as described in the *Mārkandeya-purāṇa*. The legend recorded in this work says the demon king taunted the goddess to the effect that she was fighting with the help of the *S'aktis* of various gods. Thereupon the goddess said that she was all alone and the *S'aktis* were the manifestations of her own powers or *vibhūtis* and

1. See Murrey's *Hand Book of India and Ceylon* under Dabhoi and the *Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat*, (p. 10).

then jumping into the sky fought the demon king unsupported and single-handed. The face of the male figure is demoniacal and the mouth is open as if for devouring the foe. The arms of both the figures are raised as if to give a blow. The fruit tree under which these two figures are drawn has celestials or *Devatās* flying above it, apparently witnessing the encounter. They seem, however, to have no special significance and might have been sketched in to mark the battle-field. But after all, this is a conjecture only.

Lower down on the inner side of the temple, and nearer the gateway, is a very pretty little projecting niche holding a mutilated figure of Mahākālī, shewn as a skeleton with long shrivelled breasts. Among the larger figures on the west face of the temple are Brahmā with his long beard, spoken of above, and Gaṇapati with his elephant head and protuberant stomach. The larger figures are built into the wall in niches, but round the basement of the temple there are empty niches which must have contained figures, now missing. In one of these niches on the west face has been inserted the inscription of the time of Maharaja Damajirao Gaekwad, detailed above.

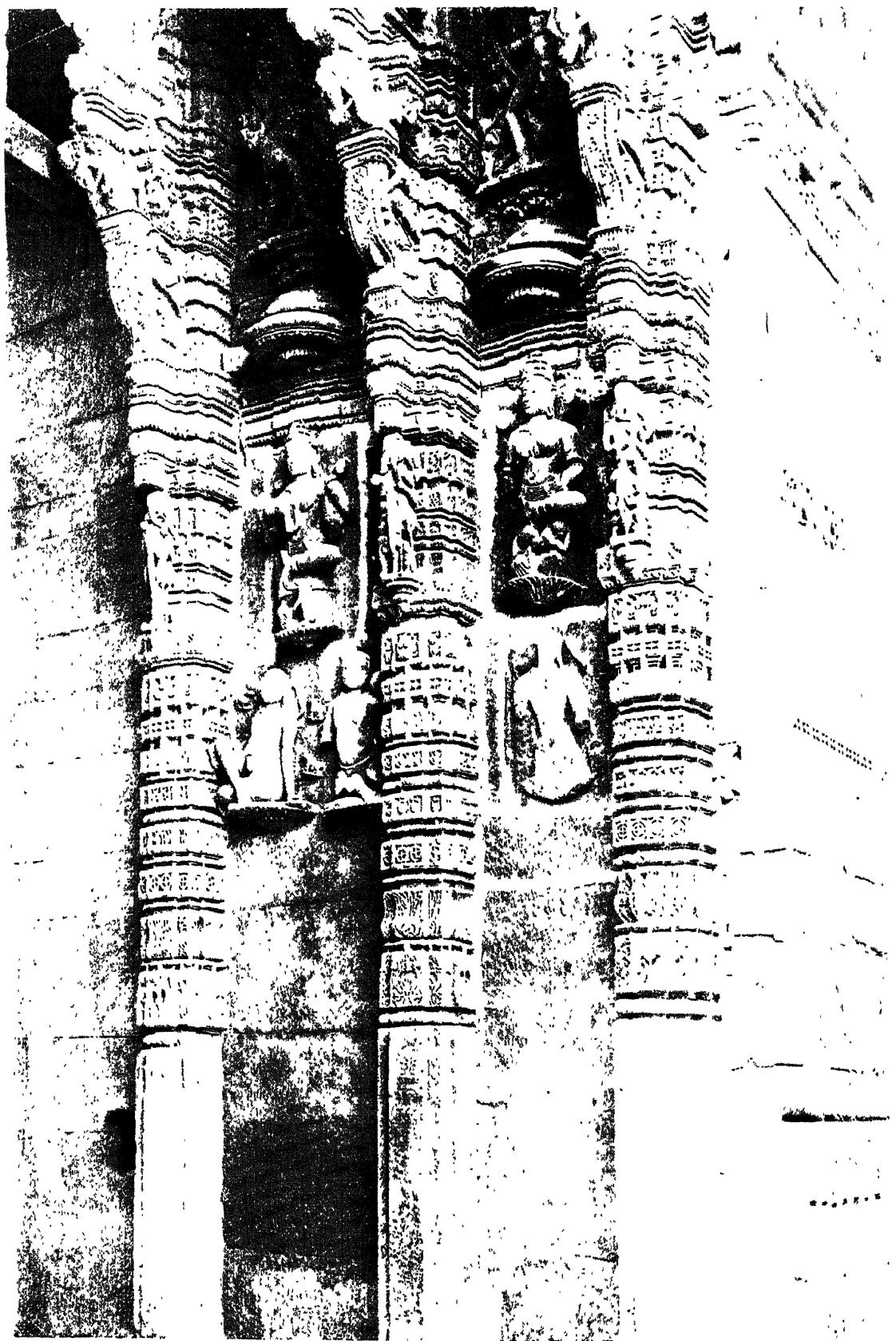
The Barodā Gate is now the best preserved and more or less entire. It must have had six bracketed supports instead of arches, springing from pilasters; but now the third pilaster from the outside has been cut away to make room for an arch, evidently Muhammadan in origin. The brackets and this arch support six architraves over which the slabs of the roof are laid. The deep overhanging cornice on both sides is now only partially preserved. The small pedestals at the ends of the cornice supported small elephants as is the case in the balconies of the Kālikā-mātā temple at the Hīrā Gate.

The remaining two gates, namely, the Mahudī and the Nāndod Gate, are not so high as the Barodā gate. Both have one course of bracketing less than that of the latter. They are also elaborately carved. Among the numerous mythological figures which adorn them are Siva in his multifarious forms, Vishṇu with his emblems and vehicle Garuḍa, his Narasimha or Man-Lion Incarnation, Daksha with the head of a ram, Sarasvatī with her vehicle the peacock, Mahākālī in the grim skeleton form, and many other figures. The Mahudī Gate was completed in the Vikrama year 1344, i. e., some thirty-three years after the date of the Hīrā Gate *prasasti* of Someśvara, as has already been stated above. The interior of the gate bears magnificent sculptural and other carvings, as is shown in the accompanying Plates XV-XVII. The brackets, the pilasters and the various figures connected with the Hindu pantheon are beautifully chiselled out. The images are marked with labels which add to their interest. Siva is the chief figure in these sculptures. His sixteen-armed representation in the Tāṇḍava attitude is very attractive. The attributes are not distinct and it can hardly be affirmed which particular form of Siva do these sculptures represent. But the dancing attitude is clear and would show that they are *Nṛittamūrtis*. Sixteen arms however would suggest three forms, namely, Virūpāksha, Tryambaka and Bahurūpi-Sadāsiva. If a surmise could be made, Bahurūpi-Sadāsiva might be the chief subject of these sculptures. The *dhyānas* of these forms are given by Maṇḍana in the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*¹

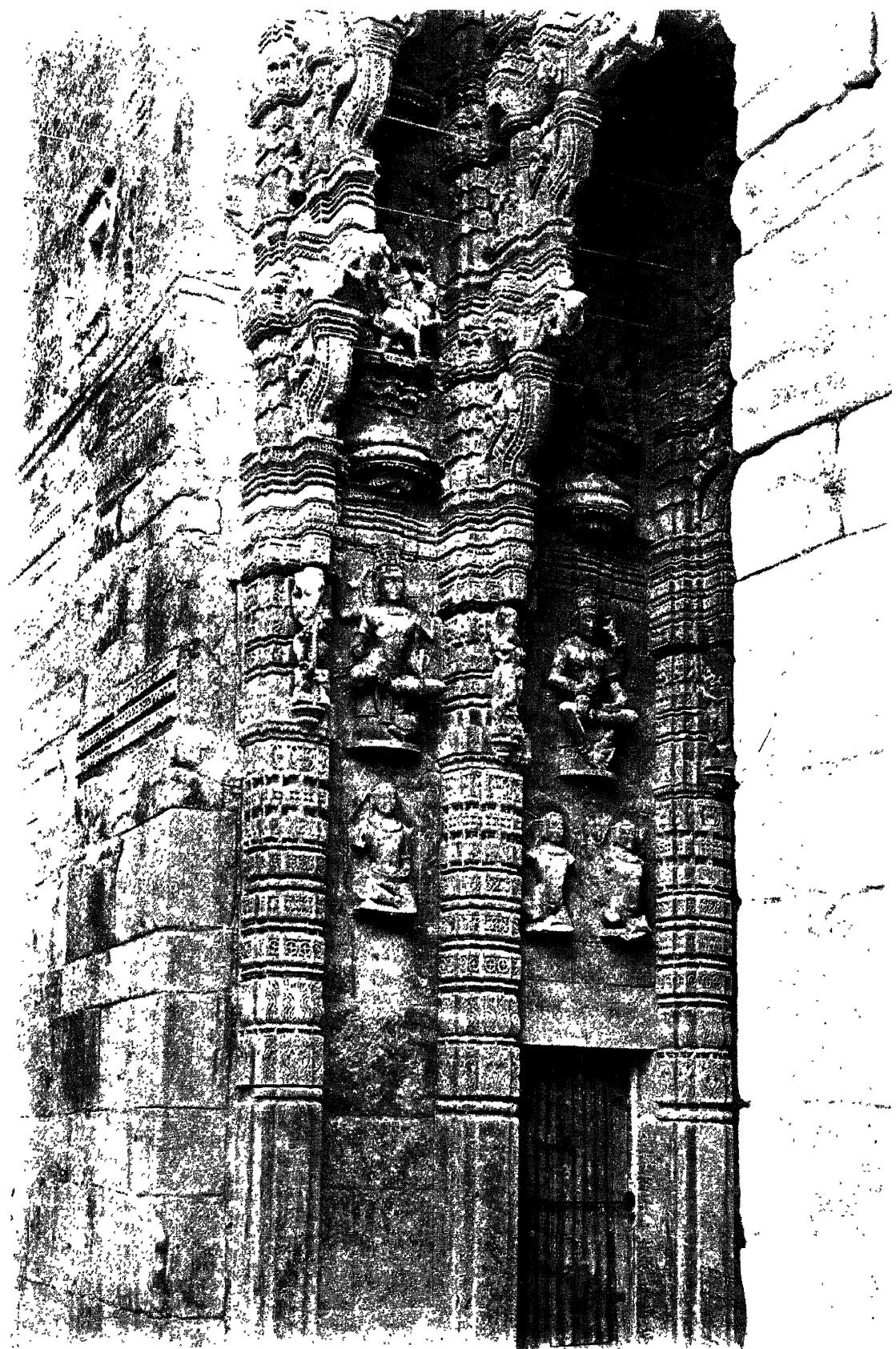
1. Adhyāya VI, vv. 52-55.



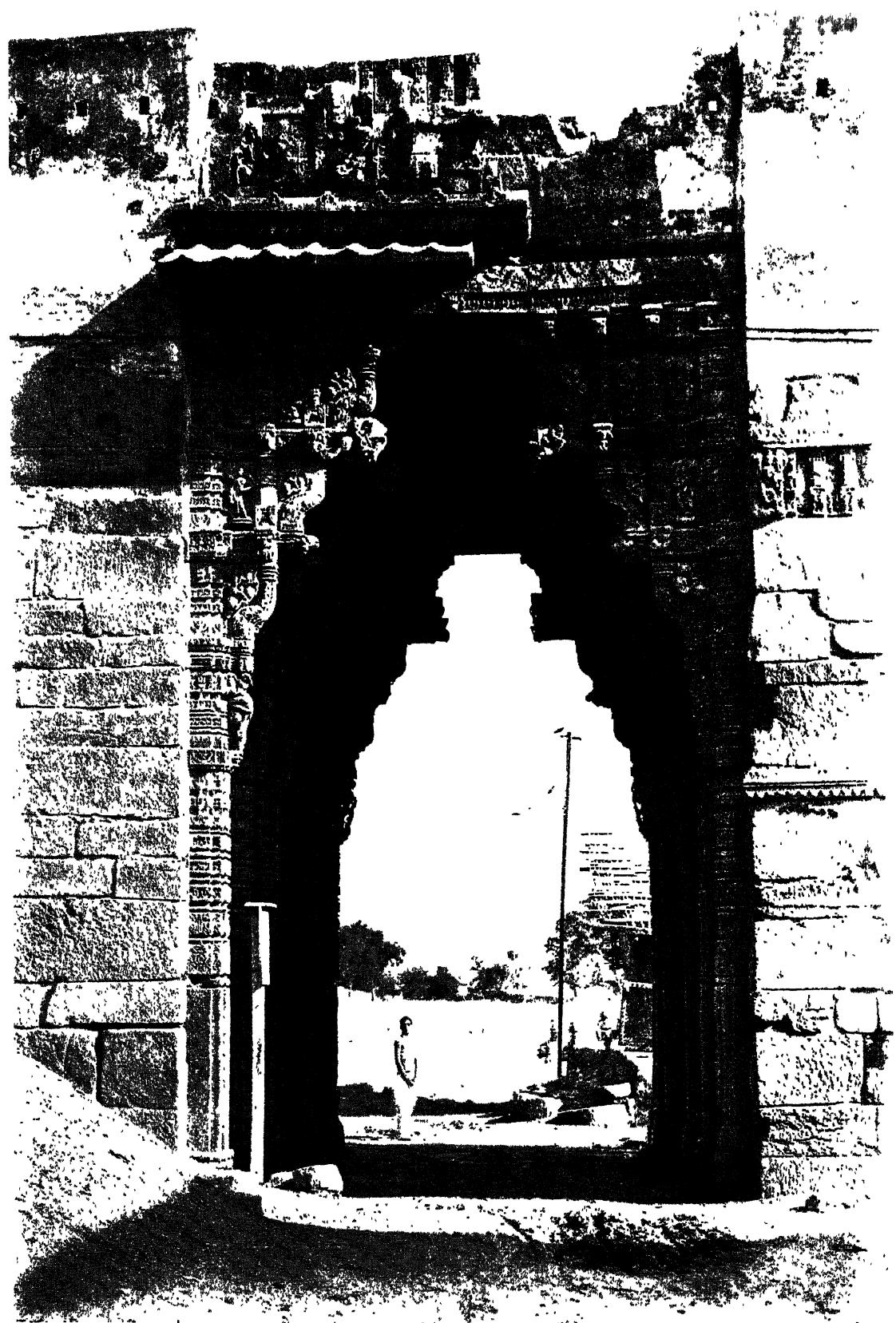
Mahudī Gate, view from south.



Mahudi Gate, inner view.



Mahudi Gate, another inner view.



Nāndod Gate, view from north.

and the *Rūpamāṇḍana*¹ and the *Nittamūrtis* of Siva are described in detail by Gopinatha Rao ². It will be superfluous to describe them here. The dance of Siva was once a favourite theme of sculptors in Southern India. To a devotee of Siva it is full of significance. Siva as *Nāṭarāja* or king of dancers is the combination of the three principal gods of Hinduism and his dance represents all the chief activities of godhead—creation, protection and destruction. As creator he is *Brahmā*, as protector he is *Vishṇu* and as destroyer he is *Rudra*. The dance is the cosmic activity and in it a devotee of Siva realises what is happening in the cosmos. The builders of the citadel were chiefly *S'aivas*. That is why a special sanctuary dedicated to Siva (*Vaidyanātha*) was built at the *Hirā* Gate and the *S'aiva* element predominates in the statuary of the other gates. But this does not mean that a Hindu will not worship other divinities of his religion. He will be cosmopolitan in that respect but his *ishṭa-devatā*, i. e., the divinity in whose worship he has been initiated, will be one. That is why the representations of other divinities are also depicted on the gates and other places of the citadel of Dabhoi.

Hinduism or rather Brahmanism has two main branches or sects, namely, *Vaishṇavism* and *Saivism*. The former regards *Vishṇu* and the latter Siva, as the Supreme Lord. Both these sects have contributed largely to the development of plastic art. The *S'aiva* sculptures are mostly based on what is termed the 'ascetic ideal.' Siva is the personification of the 'ascetic life' and of the supreme knowledge without which *moksha* or final emancipation cannot be gained—*rite jñānān=na muktiḥ*. By nature, as I have remarked elsewhere ³, he is a *yogin* or ascetic and, consequently, the incidents of his life could only be few. His incarnations were not so multifarious as those of *Vishṇu*, who, to relieve the gods as well as human beings of their distress had to manifest himself in more numerous forms or *avatāras* than Siva. The result was that the artist, having the ascetic ideal to follow, did not get as large a scope to represent the myths of Siva as he did in the case of *Vishṇu*. *Saiva* sculptures would, therefore, either represent the god as a great ascetic and give the myths connected with his creative as well as destructive powers, or would tell the popular stories of Siva or of his consort *Pārvatī*. Like the ideal *yogin* or ascetic he is represented as wrapped up in meditation, regardless of what was going on around and even forgetful of *Pārvatī*. Here in the sculptures of the *Mahudī* Gate Siva is shown as the Creator. These sculptures represent him as *Nāṭarāja*, the king of dancers and visualise his mystic dance of creation. The god is here shown as setting the whole universe in motion, himself remaining unperturbed. The wild movements of his limbs, the waving of the arms and the legs would give a marked contrast with his serene face. The figure of *Pārvatī* as sculptured in these figures is too dwarfish compared to that of the god himself. Possibly the sculptor gave her a smaller size in view of his ideas of the greatness of Siva. This is seen in the case of the representations of other gods and goddesses as well. In the group of these figures we see *Gaṇeśa* as well as the skeleton form of *Bhṛīṅgi*, the devoted attendant of S'iva. Perhaps *Kumāra*, the Commander-in-Chief of the gods, is also

1. *Adhyāya IV. vv. 23-24.*

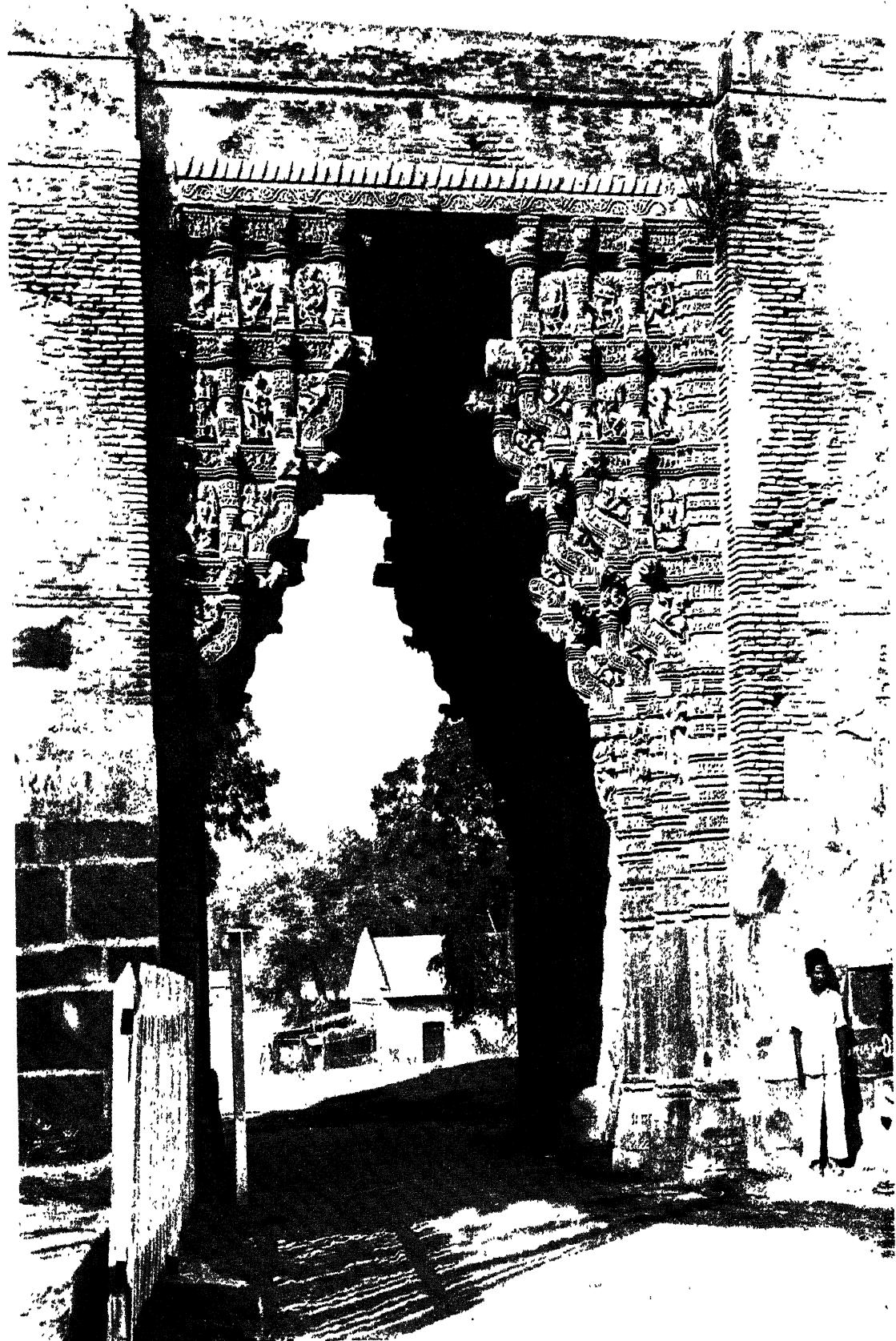
2. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II. Part I, pp. 223 ff,

3. *Guide to Elephanta* p. 17.

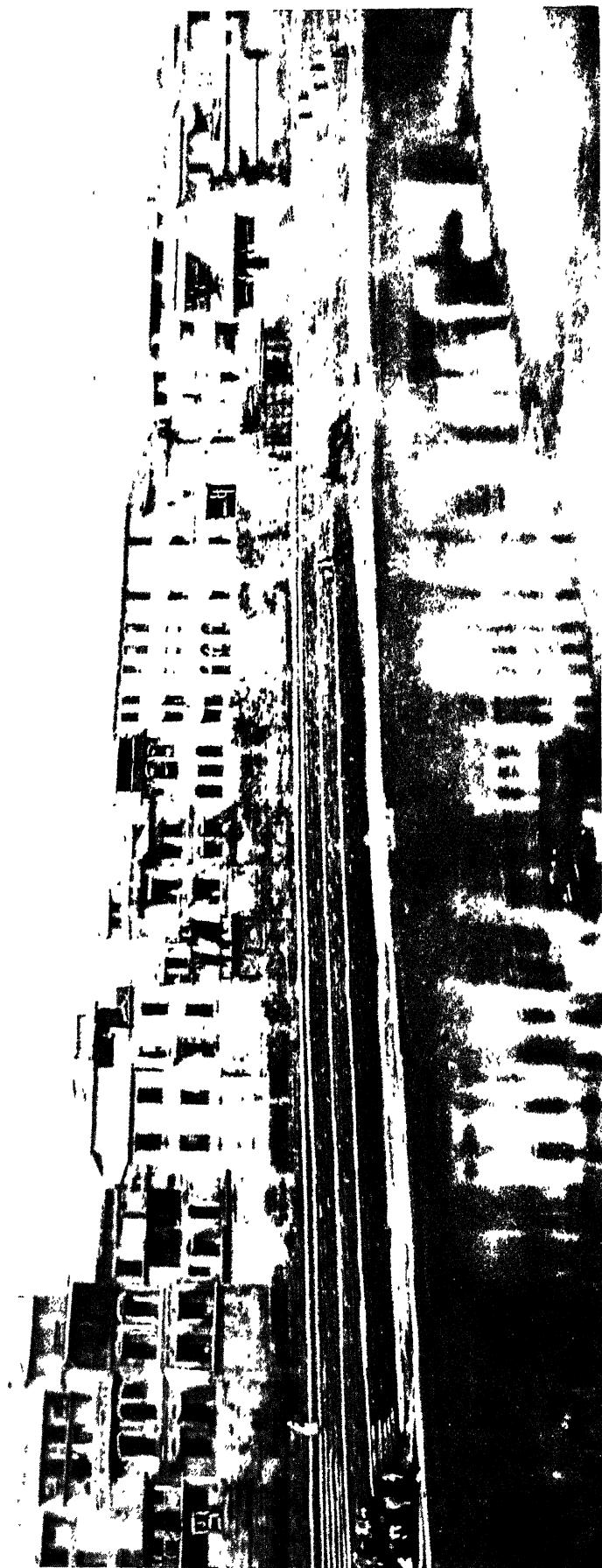
present. These sculptures however do not display any special skill such as we find in the works of the Gupta period. All the same they, like those of the Hīrā Gate, speak highly of the sculptor who chiselled them. But they are damaged and their artistry cannot be fully realised. Below the Naṭarāja or S'iva figures, which are carved on the top of the internal walls of the gate, we see the *S'aktis* or goddesses, Brahmāṇi with her *sruch* or ladel, Chāmuṇḍā or Kālī, grim and emaciated with hanging breasts and a scorpion on her stomach and standing on a corpse, the *S'aktis* of Ganeśa with a mouse close by, as well as, others. Below these goddesses we find male figures, probably, *rishis* or saints with labels engraved behind their heads. Whether these labels mark the names of the architects or some dignitaries cannot be decided definitely. One of these names reads Pālhaṇa which reminds us of the Āhlaṇa on the Hīrā Gate and would suggest that some of the figures represent the *sutradhāras* or masons who built the gate. The labels on the pilasters reading like Sochandā, Vosava, Śrī-Ghama, Vaja and Mahādeva read like the names of *salāṭs* or masons. The figures are all male and wear *rudrāksha* beads in their ears, on the necks and the arms, and *Yajñopavītas*. Excepting one, which has a fish behind the head, these figures show snakes round their bodies and canopies of snake-hoods. This would connect them with the cult of Nāgas. They might be the descendants of the Nāgas or the Nāga tribe. But it is only a matter of conjecture at present.

The other, i. e., the Nāndod Gate, which stands to the south of the citadel, had on its inner face above the cornice three large figures of the Hindu triad. One has fallen carrying a portion of the cornice away with it, the remaining two though mutilated are identifiable. One represents Siva with his vehicle Nandi and the other, Brahmā sitting to the right. The missing figure must be of Vishṇu, obviously. The Nāndod Gate though somewhat inferior to the Hīrā Gate and the Barodā Gate in minuteness of carving is equally interesting in architectural details. The brackets, the pilasters, and the sculptural peculiarities exhibit great skill of the masons or the architects who built the gate and reflect credit on the authorities who financed the undertakings. Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, the two great financiers of the reign of Viradhabala who are praised in the *Sukritusainkirtana* and elsewhere for their liberal patronage of such works, might have helped, of course, with the approval of their liege-lord, the king. That sort of financial help is needed to revive the ancient *śilpa-śāstra* which is now becoming decadent for want of patronage. The photograph reproduced in Plate XVIII will give an idea of the workmanship which is displayed in this gateway.

The walls of the citadel are practically all dismantled except at a few places here and there. They were given over to building contractors for the purpose of obtaining stones for other structures. The colonnade, on the inner side of the walls, that gave shelter during the monsoon of 1775 to Colonel Keating's troops, has mostly disappeared. The west face, and part of the north face, are the least injured and show parts of the original structure with subsequent additions and repairs. The portion of the wall immediately flanking the Barodā Gate is, happily, still fairly intact and endeavours have recently been made to preserve it. The bulging portions have been repaired. The crowning



Baroda Gate, view from east.



Dabhoi tank with buildings on its banks.

kangūrās have been re-set where necessary. The infilling of bricks has been removed. The roof has been repaired and made waterproof. The steps have also been set right.

As we see from the remains especially at the Barodā Gate, the walls of the citadel were crowned generally with a brick construction raised upon the lower stone masonry, evidently on account of scarcity of stone in Gujarāt.

Of the angle-bastions one is still preserved at the north-west corner of the Railway Station side. The flanking wall has been cut to make an opening for the road leading from the Railway Station to the town. The remaining portion towards the Barodā Gate is being preserved. The bastion has become a religious building now; for the Musalmāns call it Pāñch-bībī-ki-dargāh and aver that five young Muslim maidens are entombed there. In support of their statements they point to a knobbed platform where they are believed to have been entombed.

The Barodā Gate (Plate XIX) in spite of the alterations made during the Muhammadan ascendancy still retains some remarkably good sculptures. In erecting the Saracenic arch fine images have been cut off to accommodate the jambs, and the carving in and between the corbel supports has been ruthlessly and irretrievably spoiled. Therefore the remaining carving and the sculptures left on the gate should be jealously guarded now from further damage.

The fortification of the walls was, as indicated by the remains, very simple. "Each of the four sides is relieved at intervals by shallow rectangular bastions, originally fifty-two in number, or the four walls – at distances of about 64 yards apart – by the centre gateway with its outer gate, and by large round corner bastions. Running along the top of the walls are the *kangūrās* or merlons with embrasures or narrow spaces between them. High up upon the inner side and behind these *kangūrās* is a terrace or terreplein, about 8 feet wide, along which the troops of the garrison could move from one part of the walls to another and shoot their arrows from between the *kangūrās*. On the introduction of musketry the embrasures were found to be rather dangerously large, so leaving a few loopholes at intervals, each of these spaces was filled in with masonry. The *kangūrās* upon the walls are a decided improvement in appearance upon the square-cut merlons of western nations, but do not give such an idea of strength and massiveness so necessary in fortifications. Long colonnades beneath the terreplein formed quarters for the soldiers, and there were larger spaces running into the body of the shallow bastions. In each of the four corner bastions is a large circular room, its roof being supported by two concentric rings of pillars. Above this is the bastion platform. The plan of these corner bastions is peculiar. Eight small segments of a large circle are separated from one another by two angles set back into the circle with their points on its circumference; or, in other words, a circle is interrupted at eight different points by pairs of angles inserted with their vertices on the circumference. The bastion is carried up to its full height on this plan. This was subsequently found a weak arrangement when cannon were brought to bear upon it, all these angles and projections being very easily

knocked away, and the spaces between the angles were built up, bringing the plan of the bastion to a circle. Upon these bastions have afterwards been raised twelve-sided brick towers with splayed embrasures for cannon".

Like other old citadels or forts Dabhoi also has a large artificial tank (Plate XX) which is irregular in shape and stands about the middle of the town. This must have been a fine sheet of water and the principal supply for the town during the earlier ages, though there are old wells as well. The tank was fed by the periodical rains but a stone aqueduct communicating with it from outside is believed to have existed for replenishing it with water. People still point out a place whence excess water could escape through a channel to the open country outside the walls. Now the water of this tank is chiefly used for washing dirty clothes and utensils, and heaps of filth are thrown at dry places in the tank. The water has become unhealthy and unfit for drinking consequently.

A large piece of ground is seen jutting into the south side of the tank, almost surrounded by water. On the west side of this ground is a small shrine built in the tank. The floor of the shrine is now several feet below the surface of the water. Probably it was a Siva temple and contemporaneous with the temple of the Kālikā-mātā near the Hirā Gate. "It consists of a central shrine or small hall with porches on the north and south sides. The east side adjoins the tank from which the shrine is approached through a third entrance. On the west side is a roomy balconied window and seat overlooking the tank. A subterranean passage is still pointed out which was meant for the *Zenana* to worship the deity in pardah. The shrine is in a ruinous condition. The ground around might contain ancient remains buried in it."

On the other side of this promontory is a small ruined gateway, looking as if it had been an entrance to a temple courtyard. It is not at all unlikely that the whole of this ground is artificial, and that upon it was a temple or group of temples. It had, for over a hundred and fifty years, held the old Residency and offices, and the two-storeyed house overlooking the tank, in which the late Mr. Forbes lived, still stands there, an interesting building, though now frail and shaky. Forbes says of this place; "The *darbār* or Governor's mansion at Dabhoi, where I resided with its courts and gardens, occupies seven acres. It was almost surrounded by the lake except near the principal gate, communicating with the town; a pavement of large flat stones, admirably united, formed a dry walk at all seasons, above the steps of the tank, shaded in most parts by lofty trees, and adorned with fragrant shrubs; through which only a few houses and towers on the walls were visible; so that from the windows of the *darbār* overlooking the lake, everything had more the appearance of a rural village than a fortified city. To finish this picturesque scene a ruined Hindu temple, nearly covered with moss and the clematis in great variety, terminated the terrace walk in the garden, where the animal creation had hitherto been so unmolested, that my orange and lime trees were filled by peacocks, doves and bulbuls; monkeys and squirrels feasted on my pomegranates and custard apples; while pelicans, spoonbills and other aquatic birds occupied the lake."



The old Durbar and adjacent scenery at Dabhoi about 1780 A. D.

"The upper terrace of the *darbār* (Plate XXI) overlooked the garden, the lake and all its surrounding embellishments; consisting of rich groves, embowering Hindu temples, Muhammaden mosques, and costly tombs of the principal Musalmāns. Beyond the city walls was seen a landscape replete with populous villages, luxuriant cornfields, herds of oxen, flocks of sheep and goats and a numerous peasantry employed in agriculture; this charming plain was terminated on the north-east by the mountain of Pāvāgadh, one of the strongholds of Maratha Empire; of a stupendous height, difficult to ascend, and completely fortified at the summit."

"In the inner court of the *darbār* at Dabhoi, into which my front verandah opened, an altar had been erected under a shady *pipal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), which I carefully preserved; a hollow cavity on the top contained the *tulsi* (*ocymum*), a sacred plant of the Hindus, to which they frequently resorted; as also to a few of their *dil penates*, which were left in the surrounding niches; it was a scene nearly resembling that of Priam's palace in Troy."

Forbes records a silly legend in connection with this tank to the effect that it was polluted by a Muhammadan whose hands were cut off as punishment by the Hindus for this sacrilege and who died in consequence of this mutilation. His mother—Māmā Dokri is said to be: her name—brought a large army from Arabia and got herself avenged before she died in Dabhoi. Her tomb was erected at a distance outside Hīrā Gate and is still preserved. Evidently as Burgess and Cousens have remarked this legend is a sheer fabrication made to consecrate the tomb. According to the Marathi inscription noticed above, it was a Siva shrine originally.

Turning to the history of the town there is hardly any material available

for writing a connected account. That the town was
History of the town. called Darbhavatī or Darbhāvati in ancient days and

that it existed during the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era we have already seen. We have also noticed that Visaladeva was born here and to commemorate his birth he probably constructed some shrine or shrines and other buildings in this town. What those buildings were we cannot say with any definiteness. Tradition ascribes the construction of the Hīrā Gate, of the Kālikā-mātā temple and of the Vaidyanātha temple to him. And it is confirmed by the *prāśasti* of Someśvara noticed above in detail. The accounts given in the *Vastupālacharita* which was written in Samvat 1365 (=1308 A. D.), as has been stated above, would also corroborate it. In all probability the fortification and several other structures of Dabhoi were damaged during subsequent reigns. But early in the 13th century the citadel must have been repaired or re-fortified. The depredations of Ghūghula or Gugul must have compelled Viradhabala and his resourceful minister Vastupāla to strengthen Dabhoi. The *Vastupālacharita* is clear on this point. It further shows that some sanctuaries were also constructed along with the fortifications though they do not exist now. The temples of Kālikā-mātā and of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva came into existence during the reign of Visaladeva about the Vikrama year 1311 when the *prāśasti* was set in. Though the town of Darbhāvati is fairly old and was in

existence about the 6th century yet the citadel of Dabhoi seems to have come into existence during the 13th century after Christ when Visaladeva flourished. We do not know how Dabhoi fared during the reign of Visaladeva's son Arjunadeva (1261-1274 A. D.), and grandson Sāraṅgadeva (1274-1296). From a stone inscription of Sāraṅgadeva which is preserved in the State Museum at Baroda and belongs to the year 1348 of the Vikrama era (1291 A. D.) we learn that Sāraṅgadeva, who ruled probably from Anahilavādā or old Patan, was possibly a successful ruler who could levy poll-tax from the Jainas of Pāhlanapura (=Pālanpur) for the maintenance of a Vishṇu temple. Karṇa, the son of Sāraṅgadeva, came to the throne during the reign of Alāu-d-dīn Khalji, a detailed account of whose invasions is given by Musalmān historians. Inscriptions have also been found in Gujarāt which belong to his reign. Hardly was Karṇa seated on the *gādī* of Anahilavādā when, after basely murdering his uncle Jalālud-din Firoz Shāh, he seized the imperial throne of Delhi and sent a large army to ravage Gujarāt. Owing to his rule of terror in Gujarāt, he became known as Khūni or blood-thirsty. Anahilavādā, the capital of Gujarāt, and almost all the fine temples of the idolatrous Hindus were wrecked, plundered and desecrated or disfigured. Oft-repeated expeditions subjugated and laid waste the country. Muhammadan governors were constantly changed and they kept the country in a state of anarchy. Dabhoi must have suffered during the hands of the iconoclasts who invaded Gujarāt. Muzaffar Khān, the last of these governors of Gujarāt, in consequence of the troubles at Delhi, became an independent ruler of Gujarāt and founded the Ahmad Shāh dynasty which ruled over Gujarat till it was subdued by Akbar in 1572. His reign was marked by toleration and Hindus repaired or rebuilt their sacred places during it. This is proved by the inscriptions found at Dvārakā which are dated in the years when Akbar was ruling. These records would show that the present temple of Dvārakā might have been repaired or reconstructed then. One might infer that Dabhoi did not suffer when that tolerant Mughal was the Emperor of India. It was chiefly in the time of Mahmūd Begadā who died in 1513 A. D. that the Hindu shrines of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād suffered most. Dabhoi could not, obviously, have been spared. Things must have remained chaotic and adverse to the Hindus till 1705 when the Marathas invaded Gujarāt and twice defeated the Musalmāns. In 1707 they made a second inroad but were bought off by a tribute of 2,10,000 Rupees. In 1719, Pilajirao Gaekwad routed the Imperial troops and established himself at Songadh. The fort of Songadh was reconstructed by him as is shown by the following record incised on one of the gateways of the stronghold : -

આ કિલ્લા પિલાજીરાવ ગાયકવાડે ૧૭૨૨-૨૯ ઈસ્વીસન્માં ફરીથી બાંધ્યા અને ઈસ્વીસન ૧૭૨૯
થી ૧૭૬૬ સુધી ગાયકવાડેનું સુલ્ય સ્થાન હતો.

In 1723 he overran the country round Surat, defeated Momin Khān and subdued Gujarāt by imposing a regular tribute on it. Two years later the *Senāpati* Trimbakray Dabhade, the commander of his army, fixed his headquarters at Dabhoi which had remained in the hands of the Musalmāns from the end of the thirteenth century, i. e., from the time of Alāu-d-dīn Khalji. Udāji Pawār also occupied it for some time.

The English documents published in *The Gaekwads of Baroda*¹ inform us that a battle took place between the forces of Peshwa Baji Rao I and *Senā-pati* Trimbak Rao Dabhade in which Pilaji Rao Gaekwad was wounded and had to take shelter in the fort of Dabhoi with his two or three thousand men. The information given by these documents is supported by a letter from the Peshwa himself which was published by G. S. Sardesai originally and has been mentioned in the *Later Mughals* by Irvine.² In this letter, the Peshwa says:— “Trimbak Rao Dabhade, Udaji Anand Rao Puar, Kanthaji Raghaji Bande, Pilaji Gaekwar and Chimanaji Dada (*Damodar*) with 30,000 men came to fight me. The battle took place on the 4th Sharwal five kos from Dabhoi. Trimbak and Zavaji Dabhade, Maloji Puar, Pilaji Gaekwad’s son (*Sambhuji*)³, in all 14 chiefs, were killed. Udaji Puar (*Jaswant Rao*) Pilaji Gaekwar, and Kumar Bahadur (*Kumar Baga Puar*) fled wounded. Bande fled. Their army was plundered. On our side Narayan Dhandheri was slain.” The *Samādhi* of Pilaji Rao’s son who lost his life in the encounter stands at Thuāvi and will show that the battle must have taken place at Thuāvi near Dabhoi.⁴ The fight is also called the Battle of Dabhoi and it resulted in the appointment of Pilaji Rao Gaekwad as the *Senā-pati* for Gujarāt by the Peshwa in place of Trimbak Rao Dabhade. Pilaji Rao established his son Damaji Rao at Dabhoi and it now continues to be under the rule of the Hindus her original masters. Subsequent troubles were crushed. In 1775 Colonel Keating was sent with a small force to assist Govindrao Gaekwad. In the month of June of that year the British troops had to take shelter during the rains at Dabhoi. James Forbes was with this force. The description of the town he has given would show that he took a fancy to Dabhoi. His account is vivid and might well be quoted below:—

“The remains of its fortifications, gates and temples indicate great

Forbes’ account of Dabhoi.

magnificence. The temple near the east gate, called the Gate of Diamonds, a work of immense labour and expense must have employed a number of artificers for many years.

The city is nearly quadrangular exceeding two miles in circumference; such parts of the fortifications as remain entire are of large hewn stones and the interior colonnade is a beautiful and useful work; within the walls is a large tank, surrounded by strong masonry, with a grand flight of steps, the whole extent descending to the water from the Hindu temples, chauttries and solemn glories which border this beautiful reservoir.

“It is now chiefly inhabited by Hindus; a few Muhammadan families are permitted to reside there, on condition of not eating beef. The Pandit or governor, appointed by the ministers at Puna, submitted to Rāghobā, and on our approach acknowledged him as Peshwā of the Maratha Empire; he immediately levied a contribution of three lakhs of rupees from the inhabitants, which they were unwilling and almost unable to pay; for, although some cotton manufactures are carried on there Dabhoi and its dependencies are poor.”

1. Vol. I, ed. J. H. Gense, S. J. and D. R. Banaji, pp. 10 f.

2. *Ibid.* p. 11 fn. 2.

3. *A Chronicle of the Gaekwads of Baroda* 1933, p. 7, calls him *Sayājī Bāvā*.

4. *Ibid.* p. 28.

"The *darbār* and a few of the principal houses were well-built, and the streets generally broad and airy; many acres within the walls were cultivated, and produced abundant crops of corn and vegetables; the city contained about forty thousand inhabitants, and nearly as many monkeys, which occupied the roofs of the houses or enjoyed the shade of the mango and tamarind trees with the peacocks, squirrels, and green pigeons, that live there as unmolested by the Hindus as if in the midst of a forest, pelicans, wild ducks, adjutant birds, and a variety of water fowl animate the beautiful lakes adorned by the nymphae and many aquatic plants."

The English troops left Dabhoi before the close of the rains and the citadel was then garrisoned by 2000 of the Peshwa's forces, when the second Maratha war broke out in 1779. Colonel Goddard made a rapid movement on Dabhoi and took it. Forbes was placed in charge of Dabhoi and the surrounding district as Collector. Scindia threatened to attack it but his attempts were foiled. Thereafter Forbes got the fortifications repaired and governed the place without any trouble. He stayed here for three years and his efficient administration led the people to enjoy security. British rule had made them happy the more so because the troublesome days through which they had to pass were over and they could live in peace. In the year 1783 Bharoch, Dabhoi, Sinor and other districts were restored to the Marathas and Forbes had to leave Dabhoi which he began to love so much. On leaving it he expressed his feelings in the following verse¹ which he composed and which give expression to the effusion of a heart contending with many mingled sensations arising from his peculiar situation:—

"Dhuboy, farewell ! farewell ye ancient towers,
Ye peaceful lakes, ye consecrated bowers !
Where studious brahmins, skill'd in mystic lore,
Avatars, Vedas, Manu's laws explore:
Where pious priests attend on Vishnoo's shrine
And ruthless Scæva claims the right divine ;
While Brahma's choral songs are heard no more;
Too great a god for mortals to adore.
.....
.....

How short our triumph o'er this wide domain
No honour'd vestige of our wars remain.
From Ahmed's splendid fanes and regal bow'rs,
To towns far distant on the Concan shores.
This specious tract obey'd our mild command,
And British freedom bless'd a grateful land.

O sad reverse! these fair luxuriant plains,
 Where Nature smiles, and golden Plenty reigns,
 Where numerous flocks and herds adorn the meads,
 And fruitful harvests wave their varied heads;
 Where Nerbudda, majestic, rolls her tide,
 And streams of lesser note pellucid glide;
 Where stately castles, royal cities rise,
 And fanes and Minars glad the pilgrim's eyes;
 Where cheerful villages, and groves serene,
 In beauty deck the bright expansive scene;
 All these must feel Oppression's iron rod,
 And bow, reluctant, to a tyrant's nod:
 A stern Mahratta's power too soon must own,
 And freedom quit her Asiatic throne;
 Your haughty rulers now again return,
 Towns, cities, villages, -submissive, mourn!
 Mourn for those blessings of so short a date;
 For Scindia, Malwa's chief, has seal'd your fate !

Oppression ! mighty foe of human kind !
 Thy cruel deeds to darkness are confin'd:
 No sun-beams play around thy gloomy form,
 No council wise averts the gathering storm :
 Thy giant arms extend a lengthen'd chain,
 And captive nations feel its rankling pain:
 Before thy lurid glare their courage dies,
 And Hope expiring seeks her native skies:
 Thy breath destroys the fairest fruits on earth,
 And Nature's tears bewail thy direful birth.
 Thy stature grew to more than mortal height,
 And seem'd to blot the radiant source of light;
 For where thou dwell'st is still a dreadful night.
 But when the day-star from on high appears,
 Thy reign shall vanish, and thy victims' fears;
 Thy adamantine chains shall waste away,
 And Liberty restore her cloudless day.

Ye bards! the oral bards of Indian climes,
 Like Europe's minstrels in the feudal time,
 'Tis yours to praise the chieftain's mighty deed,
 And give the hero glory's deathless meed;
 'Tis yours to raise, or melt, the human heart,
 By all the fervours of the tuneful art;
 'Tis yours to fill the void of History's page,
 And thus immortalize the passing age:
 'Tis yours to blow the golden trump of fame,
 And twine the laurel round each honour'd name.

Ah ! when you chant the legendary tale,
 In crowded cities, or the rural vale,
 How will you mourn fair Freedom's transient reign !
 Whilst list'ning tribes lament the dirgeful strain !
 Lament her blessings wither'd in their bloom,
 And nations suffering in her hasty doom !
 When you relate, with strict historic truth,
 These changing scenes, familiar to your youth,
 The wondering crowd will scarce believe a theme,
 Fill'd with events that seem a passing dream.

But, rapt in visions of prophetic joy,
 What bright'ning days in prospect you descry !
 When clouds are vanish'd, and the sun appears
 Resplendent, midst a nation's gloomy fears;
 When Freedom's voice shall hail your native land,
 And bear again the olive in her hand;
 When she shall break the cruel tyrant's rod,
 And, first of blessings! shew the path to God !
 When she shall leave Hindostan's realms no more,
 But ransom'd hope, and promised bliss restore !—
 Prophetic bards! these lofty visions sing,
 And Liberty from rising joy shall spring:
 The captive shall forget his ponderous chain,
 And join in hours with the rapturous strain.

Duboy, farewell! thy gloomy change so near,
 For thee I drop the sympathetic tear !
 For thee I supplicate in silent pray'r,
 That thou ere long these heavenly gifts may share !

The following account of Forbes' departure from Dabhoi given in the said Memoris¹ will give an idea of the insecurity of human life in those days, and make a marked contrast with the peace and calm enjoyed by the people at the present time. "On the arrival of my palanquin and effects at the grove, I placed them under the care of the cavalry officer, and eighteen armed horsemen; and with the other six, the Bhaut security on horseback, and a little favourite slave boy behind the carriage, I commenced my journey with full four hours daylight before us. I had previously sent off relays of bullocks; and travelling in a light hackaree, at the rate of five miles an hour, I passed through the wild country about sun-set, at least three hours sooner than usual. Not meeting with any molestation from the *gracias*, and concluding the brahmins had been misinformed, I dismissed the Bhaut, stopped a few hours to rest my people at the entrance of the Baroche purgunna, and reached home in safety early the next morning, where I related the late events at Dhuboy, and especially the prognostics of the brahmins respecting the *Gracias*, as totally without foundation. But when some

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-379.

hours had elapsed, without tidings of my servants and effects, nor the appearance of a horseman, I became alarmed. My suspense was not of long duration, for on looking anxiously towards the road, I saw a sort of funeral procession moving towards our garden-house, accompanied by the yells of female mourners, more dismal than any I had ever heard. It consisted of a mingled group of Mahomedans, Hindoos, and Parsees, a sight very unusual at an Indian funeral. There was a Mahomedan mosque and burying-ground near our villa, which they passed, and moved on immediately towards the garden gate. We now distinguished several different biers; on the foremost lay the headless body of my cavalry officer, followed by the violent exclamations of Mahomedan women. Another set brought the dead body of a Parsee servant, almost cut to pieces: others carried dead and wounded Hindoos of different descriptions, on the village cots. These they placed in the garden under our front veranda, and immediately renewed their dreadful lamentations.

When we could obtain silence, I learnt from the survivors, that about an hour after I crossed the bed of the river, my people and effects arrived at the fatal spot, where they were suddenly surrounded by upwards of three hundred armed Gracias, on horseback, and four hundred on foot, who immediately attacked my small party with the most savage barbarity, cut down the cavalry officer, killed a Parsee servant and several of my attendants, and wounded many more. Elated with this success, and intoxicated by opium and bhang, their ferocious chieftains called loudly for the English sirdar, vehemently demanding when I should arrive from Dhuboy. My faithful people told them I had passed long before, and was then in the Baroche purgunna, far beyond their reach; although, travelling at the slow pace of oxen, I could not have been three miles distant. Thus disappointed, they renewed their insults, and frantic with bhang, committed further cruelty before they decamped with their plunder, consisting of horses, arms, my palanquin, sword, and some valuable effects; leaving the dead and wounded men on the spot, where they had fallen a sacrifice themselves, but would not betray their master.

The sight of the dead bodies and the accompanying lamentations, announced the first tidings of this fatal catastrophe. I have no language to express my feelings on this occasion. Tacitus, eminent for sublime conceptions and pathetic description, aids my recollection by a scene of far greater importance.

'Non tumultus, non quies; sed quale magni metus, et magnæ iræ, silentium est.'

'It was not a tumult, it was not quietness; it was the silence of terror, and of indignation.'

Tacitus.

I find it equally difficult to mention my own providential deliverance. The Gracias not pursuing me seems so very extraordinary, that, among some other remarkable events of my life, I can, (without referring to second causes or intermediate agency) only ascribe it to that Protecting Arm which 'is about our path and about our bed; for in the way wherein I walked they had privily laid a snare for me: I might have looked on my right hand and on my left, but I had no place to flee unto, no man to care for my soul!'"

Verily the foregoing account when read, especially in front of the splendid remains described in it, will make us reflect that the flourishing Dabhoi of Visaladeva has indeed become a "*Darbhavati*" and forcefully remind us of the following *rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyām:—

" The Worldly Hope men set their Hearts upon
 Turns Ashes – or it prospers, and anon,
 Like Snow upon the Desert's dusty Face,
 Lighting a Little Hour or two – is gone.

Think ! in this battered Caravanserai
 Whose Doorways are alternate Night & Day,
 How Sultān after Sultān with his Pomp
 Abode his Hour or two, and went his way."

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